

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN TEMNE IN THE LATE  
NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis deals exclusively with the history of the Southern Temne in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries - roughly between the 1880s to the 1920s. The events of the earlier periods are however, not ignored since without them it is impossible to present any reasonable assessment of the issues involved. This is particularly so with those issues which are purely of a traditional and cultural nature. On the whole, the thesis is a study of the impact of the pre-colonial socio-economic changes upon the political institutions of the Southern Temne. A brief look at the Chapters can now be taken.

Chapter I deals with the origin of the Temne and their migration to their present habitation; their integration with other people; the institution of their monarchies and general government system; their social and cultural organizations and economy; and the influence of Islam and Christianity among them.

Chapter II deals with the changes which occurred among the people in a politico-socio-economic sense. The main elements involved are, the English and their early trade with the natives; the acquiring of the Colony and the influence of the Krios; their gradual penetration inland through treaties and expeditions; the establishment of the Protectorate; the railway construction; the commercial role of the Syrians; and the integration of the Chiefs into the British Colonial administration of the new Protectorate.

Chapters III - VII contain detailed accounts of the traditional history of each chiefdom in a political and constitutional context - its extent; the foundation of its crown and how it was governed; its

foreign policy; its relationship with the Colony before 1896; and how it later existed in the new colonial situation.

Finally, Chapter VIII attempts at consolidating the accounts of the events discussed in the preceding Chapters, presenting the results in a general perspective.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In my acknowledgements, I wish first to consider Professor John E. Peterson and Dr. Roger Tangri who were my official and unofficial supervisors respectively during my M.A. programme at Fourah Bay College, the University of Sierra Leone. Both people strongly advised me to pursue this course of study and vehemently recommended me to my Government (the Sierra Leone Government) for a scholarship, convincing all the authorities concerned that I was material quite suitable to be given such an opportunity. My sincere thanks go to them.

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I would like to record here a word of thanks to those who personally advised me on certain points. I particularly have in mind, Dr. Roy Willis, Professor James Littlejohn, Dr. D.N. Macmaster, Mr. Roy Harris, Dr. Kenneth King, Dr. Ian Duffield and Mr. Christopher Allen. From the first two, I gained additional material from their profound knowledge of Anthropology and Social Anthropology respectively. I applied this knowledge in assessing the culture of the people about whom I was writing, Dr. Macmaster assisted me to obtain help from the Geography Department. I must bring in here, Mr. Roy Harris, the Cartographer in the same department for his wonderful help in the production of the maps and other illustrations. The last three were helpful to me in their technical advice to me as to the form and lay-out of the thesis.

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Centre of African Studies,  
University of Edinburgh,  
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NOTES ON THE TEMNE PHONETIC ALPHABET USED IN THE THESIS, AND THEIR

PRONUNCIATION - The notes below are drawn from my many years of teaching Temne.

VOWELS: a, e, i, o, u, ə, ɔ, & ɛ .

- a - e.g. papa (father Temne), pronounced as the a in apple (English)
- e - e.g. pet (town - Temne) pronounced as the e in pain (English)
- i - e.g. rim (voice) pronounced as the i in rib (English)
- o - e.g. wop (to hold or handle - Temne) pronounced as the o in rope (English)
- u - e.g. wuth (children - Temne) pronounced as the oo in soon (English)
- ə - a weak English e - e.g. mənt (water - Temne) pronounced as the er in better (English)
- ɔ - e.g. wɔnt (brother or sister - Temne) pronounced as the o in son (English)
- ɛ - e.g. bɛs (to dig - Temne) pronounced as the e in best (English)

DOUBLE VOWELS:

oo and aa. Both are pronounced the same way as in English - but are used to stress a point.



ABBREVIATIONS

P.R.O. or PRO.	-	Public Record Office (London)
C.O. or CO.	-	Colonial Office (London)
P.P.	-	Parliamentary Papers
G.L.N.C.	-	Governor's Letterbook to Native Chiefs (Sierra Leone Archives, Freetown)
G.A.L.	-	Governor's Aborigines Letterbook (Sierra Leone Archives, Freetown)
C.S.L.	-	Colonial Secretary's Office Letterbook to Native Chiefs (Sierra Leone Archives, Freetown).
G.I.L.	-	Government Interpreters Letterbook (Sierra Leone Archives, Freetown)
S/L. stu	-	Sierra Leone Studies
O.S.	-	Old Series of the Sierra Leone Studies
N.S.	-	New Series of the Sierra Leone Studies
S.L.L.R.	-	Sierra Leone Language Review
S.L.B.L.	-	Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion
D.C.	-	District Commissioner
P.C.	-	Paramount Chief

For the oral traditions, reference is simply made by quoting the name of the informant, his address and date of his information. See Appendix II for fuller information about the informants.

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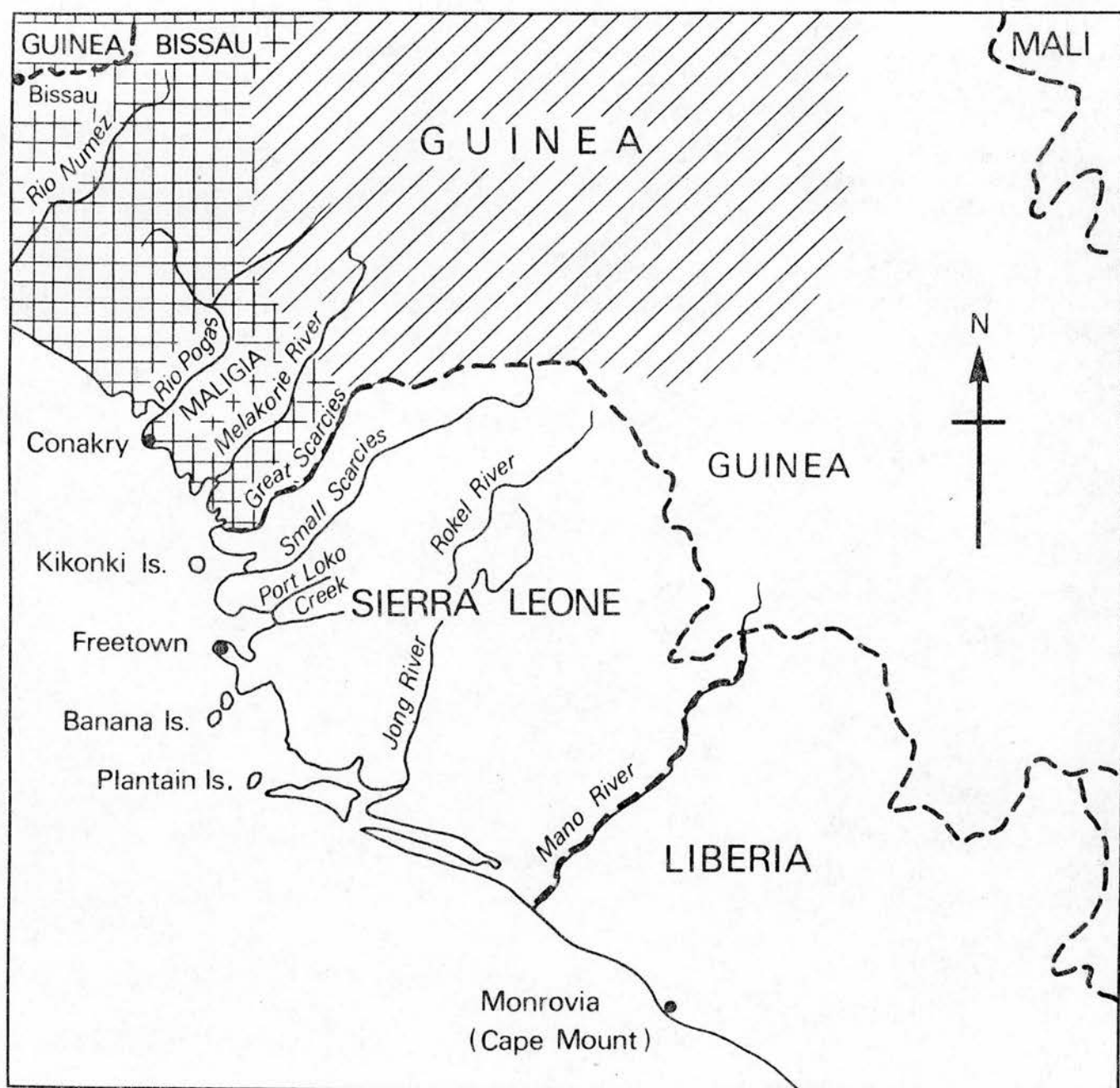
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## SIERRA LEONE AND HER NEIGHBOURS

Sources : J.I. Clarke (ed.) : Sierra Leone in Maps (1966) p.13.

C.F. Fyfe : A History of Sierra Leone (1962), Maps 1 &amp; 2 at back.



----- International Boundaries

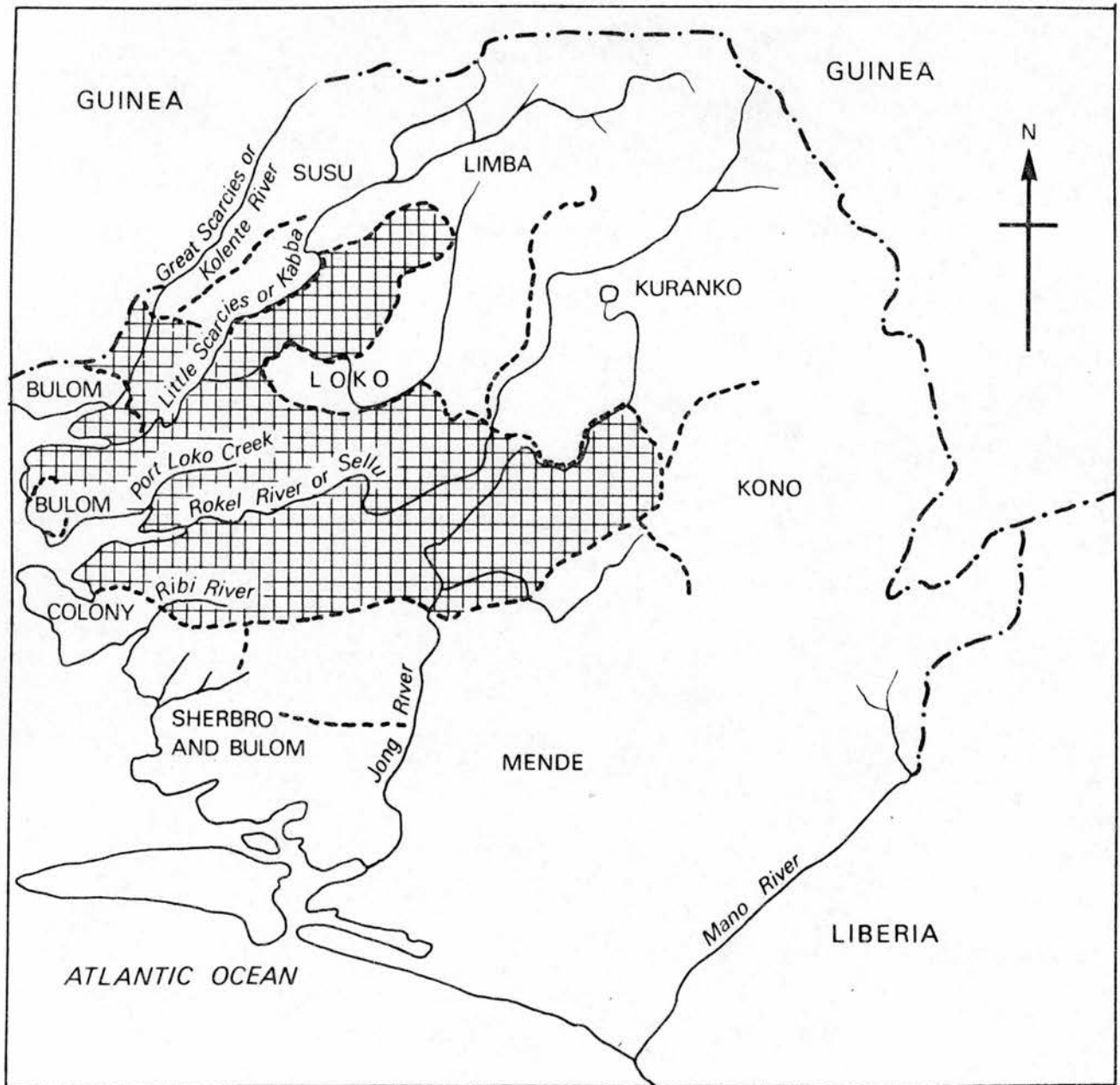
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 miles

\\ Probable Area Covered By The States Of : FUTA JALON, FUTA TORO, FUTA BUNDU and LAHI

□ Probable Area Covered By The Moria Countries : MALIGIA, SANGARA, BAGA, SUSU, MELACURIE, etc.

## SIERRA LEONE SHOWING EXTENT OF TEMNE COUNTRY

Source J.I. Clarke; (ed 1966) Sierra Leone in Maps P.9



- - - - - International Boundary

- - - - - Tribal Boundaries



Temne Country

0 10 20 30 40 50 miles

## CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

### THE SOUTHERN TEMNE UNDER THEIR OWN RULE

The whole of the Temne Country lies on the northern part of Sierra Leone, now described as the Northern Province. It is bounded on the north by the Republic of Guinea, the Limba, Loko, and Kuranko Countries; on the east, by the Kono and Kpa Mende Countries; on the south by the Kpa Mende and Sherbro Countries; and on the west by the Western Area (former Colony) and the Atlantic Ocean. Prior to the declaration of the Hinterland into a Protectorate by the British Government in 1896, the Temne Country was part of the Hinterland or 'Neighbourhood' <sup>1</sup> of Sierra Leone; and Lawson <sup>2</sup> and Parkes <sup>3</sup> called it the 'Vicinity' <sup>4</sup>. These descriptions were the most accurate at the time, for the British political or colonial control of the territory

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1. T.M. Winterbottom: An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. VOL.I (1803), - Title Page.

2 & 3. T.G. Lawson and J.C.E. Parkes: Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and Its Vicinity. (Colonial Office February 1887) Title Page

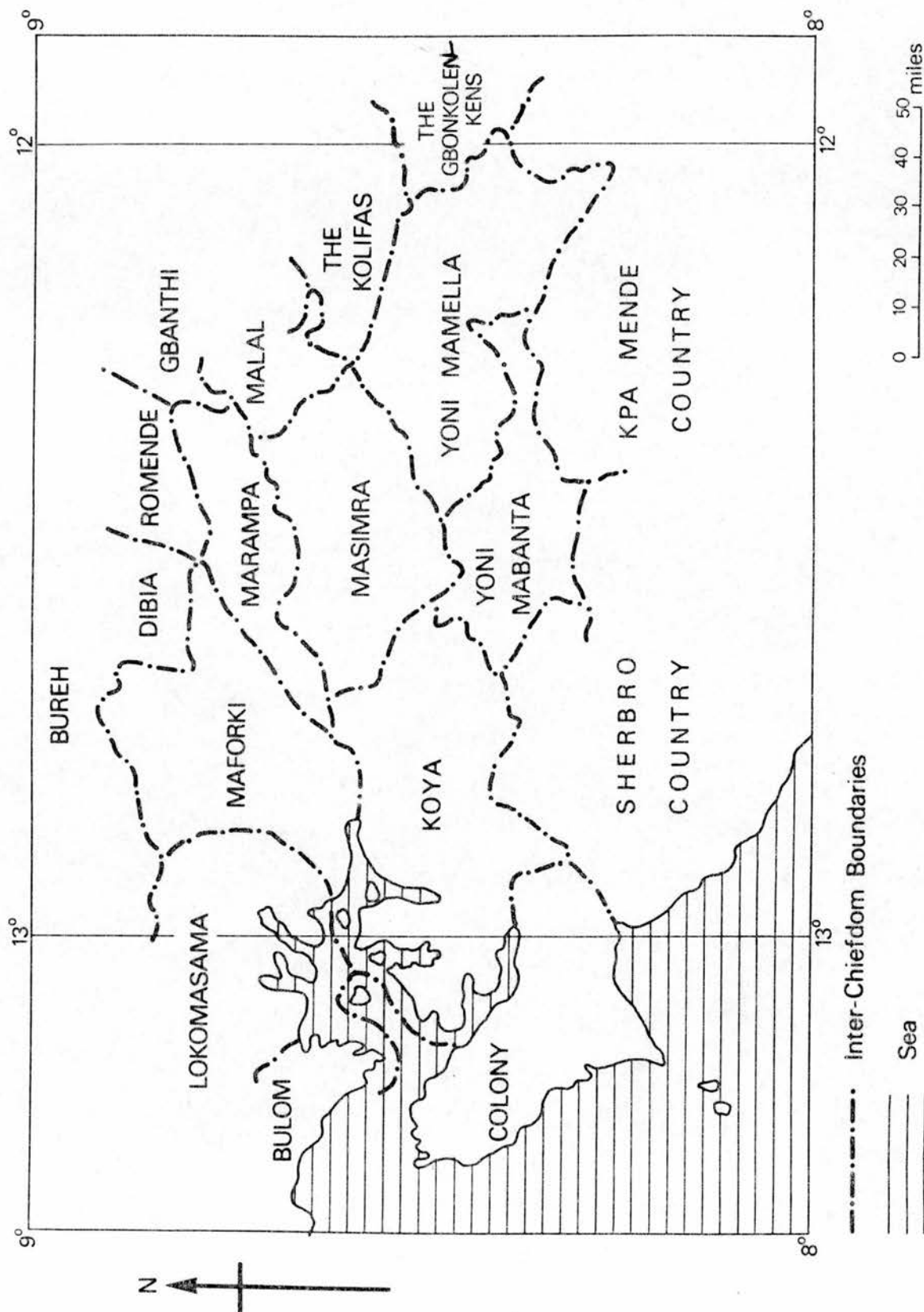
T.G. Lawson (C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.225-6), was son of George Lawson, Chief of Little Popo on the Bight of Benin in the modern Republic of Togo. His father had sent him to study in England, but instead, he stopped in Freetown in the home of John McCormack, the timber merchant, where he was educated. McCormack would take him up-country on his treks where he learnt many native languages. In 1852, he was employed as Government Interpreter, and in 1879 was promoted as head of the Aborigines Branch of the Secretariat. He was married to the granddaughter of Bai Farma I and William Lawson was the product of that marriage. He retired in 1888 and died in 1891 (Fyfe: p.348). J.C.E. Parkes (Fyfe: p.479) was a young Krio who had studied for the bar in England but was unable to complete because of ill-health. On his return home in 1881, he was appointed as clerk in the Commandant's office in Bonthe (J.D. Hargreaves: "The Evolution of the Native Affairs Department" *Sierra Leone Studies*, N.S. No.2, 1954, p.177). In 1884 he was promoted to the Aborigines Branch of the Secretariat where he became Lawson's collaborator. When Lawson retired, Parkes replaced him as head of the department, later renamed 'Native Affairs Department'. He was finally promoted to the post and styled 'Secretary for Native Affairs'. He died in August 1899 (Hargreaves: p.184).

4. See Notes 2 and 3 above.



# SOUTHERN TEMNE COUNTY UP TO 1940

Source - J.I. Clarke (ed.) ; Sierra Leone in Maps (1966), p9



was yet limited only to the Colony - and the regions beyond it could only be considered as a British sphere of influence. In its geographical relationship with the modern political or administrative districts of the Northern Province, the Temne Country covers the largest portion of the Tonkolili and Port Loko Districts, and less than half of each of Bombali and Kambia Districts.

The Southern Temne Country comprises the modern six chiefdoms of Koya, Mafoki, Marampa, Masimra, Yoni Mabanta, and Yoni Mamella. Up to the 1890's, the limits of the boundaries of these countries were not clearly defined even by the principal rulers themselves. It should be pointed out that the Temne did not make maps, so their kingdoms did not need to be elaborately bounded. They however, had their land marks used as boundaries, and the most reliable of these were natural phenomena such as rivers, creeks, mountains, and valleys. Neighbouring kingdoms could also recognize prominent trees, stretches of rocks or swamps, as boundary marks; but these were far from being permanent and could easily be violated, causing disputes between kingdoms, <sup>1</sup> T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, <sup>2</sup> Secretary for Native Affairs however, attempted to define these boundaries; but they performed this exercise only in terms of the treaties entered into between the British Government and the principal rulers. So that all the boundaries mentioned in the documents were those drawn by Europeans in the Colony.

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1. See footnote 2, p. 1.

2. See footnote 3, p. 1.



As late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Temne people could not still be easily defined because of the mixture and intermixture of the various peoples amongst them. In this regard, the best that can be done is to regard them as a language group rather than as a clear and distinct ethnic group with a unified culture or political unity, in that they have managed through the centuries to retain their own language as a permanent feature of their culture.

Linguistic consideration can therefore, be of help in estimating the history of the Southern Temne people. In this respect, five main aspects can be established - namely, their origin and migration into Sierra Leone; their settlement in their present habitation; their political organizations; their cultural and social organizations, and their economy. Considering the first, it can be conjectured with some amount of precision, that the origin of the Temne is varied and perplexing. According to their oral traditions,<sup>1</sup> the Temne as a whole say that their ancestors originally came from 'RO-THORON'. But the Temne have only two cardinal points in their geography of the world, as expressed in their language - 'RO-THORON' and 'RO-PILL' - that is, 'EAST' and 'WEST'. In this case, 'RO-THORON' can mean 'NORTH' or 'EAST', while 'RO-PILL', 'SOUTH' or 'WEST'. Geographically, north of Temneland is modern Guinea, and covers the whole area comprising the countries of the Susu, Baga, Mandinka, Sangara, Kuranko, Fula (Futa Toro, Futa Jalon, Futa Bundu, and Labi), and the region of the Upper Niger.

2

As regards their name, they call themselves 'THEMNΣ'. In

---

1. Oral Traditions

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Majorki Chiefdom,         | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,                      | 3. 2.76.  |
| Pa Say Bana, Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom.                   | 22. 2.76. |
| Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,                  | 18. 4.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,             | 17. 1.76. |
| Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella<br>Chiefdom, | 7. 4.76.  |

2. Ibid.

the Temne language, the word 'THEMN<sup>2</sup>' is a combination of two words 'THEM' meaning 'OLD MAN', and 'N<sup>2</sup>', meaning 'SELF'. In this way, they try to establish that they are, as a people, as old in origin as any other people on earth. This may be regarded as a way of trying to justify their unity or solidarity as an ethnic group to conceal their varied origin - a solidarity which they have never been able to establish throughout the centuries. But the word 'THEN<sup>2</sup>' has undergone many changes, and thus spelt differently. Such variants have occurred - Timanney, Timini, Thimni, and Themine, and have been used by many writers; but the form 'TEMNE' is now popularly used, and it is the form used throughout this thesis.

Linguistic evidence has been produced by Africanists in an attempt to trace the origin of the Temne. Dalby's "Mel Languages"<sup>1</sup> is a case in point, in which he tries to establish the relationship between Temne and some of the African languages such as Baga, Banta, Landuma, and Kissi. In his attempt to establish the relationship between Temne and the Prefix-languages of Southern Africa, J.C.<sup>2</sup> Prichard, a British student of Ethnology, suggested in 1857, that the Temne use of prefixes linked their language with the Bantu languages of Southern Africa. But there is no evidence whatever, that the Temne came from the south and in fact, this suggestion contradicts their own belief that they came from 'RO-THORON'.

Another group of Temne which seem to be quite distinct from those who came from 'RO-THORON' are the Banta Temne. Dalby,<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. T.D.P. Dalby: "The Mel Languages: A Reclassification of the Southern Atlantic" - African Language Studies, VI (1965), pp.1-17.
  2. J.C. Prichard: Referred to by P.E.H. Hair: "Temne and Language Classification before 1864". Journal of African History, VIII (1967), p. 47.
  3. T.D.P. Dalby: "Banta and Mabanta", Sierra Leone Language Review No. 2, (1963), pp. 23-24.

in his "Banta and Mabanta" has established that the Banta people of Southern Moyamba District in the Mende-speaking Chiefdoms of Mabanta and Banta-Mokelle in the Sherbro/Mende region, "were a Temne group who moved south from Yoni, and conquered the area between the River Jong and the sea, and their language is a Temne dialect". In this argument, he quotes Vernon Dorjahn's article, 'A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni', and this writer also quotes a Temne tradition.

This tradition is supported by recent Temne traditions that the Yoni<sup>1</sup> still describe themselves as 'Mabanta Temne', and that the Koya<sup>2</sup> say the same thing in describing their origin. There seems to be however, a significant difference between the words 'Bantu' and 'Banta'.

'Bantu' is a name invented by European linguists, who apply it to a group of people to which the generality of the Temne including the Mabanta, are likely to be related in some previous existence. In the case of 'Banta', they appear more of geographical group in which Banta and Mabanta Countries are located, than a distinct national or ethnic group. The truth of this can be seen from the meaning of the word 'Mabanta', used by the Yoni and Koya Temne to describe themselves as regards their origin. 'Ma-Banta' means 'of' or 'from' Banta.<sup>3</sup>

The Yoni and the Koya always firmly say that their ancestors originally came from Banta and Banta Mokelle Countries, and that they belong to that group of Temne. This assertion however, does not preclude them from being of 'ROTHORON' Temne as probably the rest of the Temne were.

1. Oral Traditions

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, | 9.1.76.  |
| Pa Kaprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,              | 17.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,            | 17.1.76. |

2. Oral Traditions

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| Pa Alhaji Alimay Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, | 13.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,          | 14.1.76  |
| Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,    | 31.1.76  |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,       | 3.2.76   |

3. My personal knowledge of the Temne language.

That is, their ancestors having come from 'RO-THORON', first settled in Yoni, then moved on to the Banta Country; and this is what Dalby<sup>1</sup> believes. But their land having been overrun by the Mende immigrants in the eighteenth century, they became divided into two groups - one remaining in the Banta Country,<sup>2</sup> while the other, in the modern Yoni and Koya Chiefdoms.

The diversity of the origin of the Temne is further heightened by the Temne oral traditions<sup>3</sup> collected in Maforki, Marampa, Masimra, Mamaka, and Fondu in Eastern Yoni Mamella. According to these traditions, most of the Temne in these chiefdoms were Kuranko in origin. But linguistically, the Kuranko language belongs to the 'Mande' group of languages, while Temne has been included in the 'Mel' cluster of the West Atlantic group of languages.<sup>4</sup> Further, Person has suggested that the Kuranko are in fact, not a distinct people by themselves, but a sub-group of the 'Malinke' of the French Guinea, where "Le Majorite des Koranko reside".<sup>5</sup> This tradition of the Temne and Kuranko people being

- 
1. T.D.P. Dalby: "Banta and Mabanta", Sierra Leone Language Review II (1963) pp. 23-25.
  2. V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni" - in Sierra Leone Studies: N.S.No.14 (1960) p.81.
  3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Majorki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Majorki Chiefdom. 31.1.76.  
 Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.  
 Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, MaKonteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18. 4.76.  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13. 1.76.  
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya Koya Chiefdom, 31. 1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3. 2.76.  
 Pa John G. Kamara, Masengbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 13. 4.76.  
 Pa Roke Kamara, Masengbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 13. 4.76.  
 Pa Kappr Bundu Gbongban Rogbangban, Yoni Mamella Chief. 14. 4.76.
  4. T.D.P. Dalby: "Language Distribution in Sierra Leone" Sierra Leone Studies, No. 1 (1962), pp.62-67.
  5. Yves Person: L'aventure de le drame de Waima" Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines, 18 Vol. V (1965).

the same is not therefore, likely to be correct. What must have been the correct account is that during their era of migration to their present habitation, the Temne passed through Kurankoland. As this migration must have taken a considerable length of time, some of the Temne must have settled intermittently among the Kuranko, and through social intercourse such as marriage, were integrated into Kuranko society; so that some of the Temne were necessarily the offsprings of Kuranko/Temne marriages. It is likely that it was these Kuranko/Temne that had, in the nineteenth century, already populated the modern Temne Chiefdoms of the Kolifas, the Gbonkolenkens, Konikes, Tane, Mayosso, Malal, Maforki, Marampa, Masimra, Mamaka, and Fondu.

As regards the age of their settlement in the region, it has been established by linguistic evidence that the Temne are connected with the Bulom or Sherbro. But how long the Bulom themselves have been living on the coastal region of Sierra Leone, has not been established. They were probably an inland people, but that they in the course of the centuries broke off and moved towards the coast where they were later joined by the Temne. In this respect, Fyfe has noted that the Kissi and the Bulom languages are related, and these two peoples may have been one. Kissi Country stretches westwards from the mountains at the Niger sources, while the Bulom lived on the coast. This suggests that they originally migrated into the area up the Niger to its source, stopping inland, the Bulom going on until they reached the sea.<sup>1</sup> In this case, it would appear that both the Bulom and the Temne had once lived together on the Upper Niger region, and that as suggested by Fyfe that in the course of the

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1. C. Fyfe "Peoples of the Windward Coast, A.D. 1000-1800" - in A Thousand Years in West African History edited by J.F. Ade, Ajay and Ian Espie (Ibadon University Press & Nelson, 1965) p. 144.

years, they migrated into the coastal region, following different routes - i.e. while the Temne moved through Futa Jalon northwards, joining the Baga, the Bulom moved southwards over the mountains to the Atlantic where they might have arrived at different periods. But when the Europeans began to visit the coast of Sierra Leone in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they found the two peoples had already firmly established in the region. Temne tradition<sup>1</sup> itself states that they had settled in their present countries hundreds of years before the coming of the 'white man'. These 'white men' or Europeans were the Portuguese who visited the coast of Sierra Leone in the mid-fifteenth century, and provided the earliest available written accounts. Two of these early Portuguese explorers, Fernandes<sup>2</sup> and Pereira,<sup>3</sup> wrote in early sixteenth century. In their accounts, both speak of the Temne, as having been already well established on the coast from the mouth of the Scarcies beyond the Sierra Leone peninsula. Pereira further informs us that the Temne on the Scarcies were engaged in trade in various commodities such as fine gold, and slaves which they would barter for European merchandise such as brass basins, brass bracelets, bloodstones, and red cloth linen and cotton clothes.<sup>4</sup> Both Fernandes and Pereira collected vernacular terms, and these together with 'Sapi' vernacular terms collected between 1500 and 1600 "have been identified as Temne".<sup>5</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions, see Note 3, p.6.

2. Valentim Fernandes, Description de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique (ed. "The Monod, A Teixeira da Mota, and R. Marvry") Bissau, (1951) pp. 81-97. Quoted in C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance (O.U.P. 1964) pp. 22-30.

3. D.P.Pereira, Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis (ed. Kimble) Hakluyt Society, London, (1937), pp.95-99, Quoted in C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance (O.U.P. 1964) pp.41-43.

4. I.D.P. Pereira: Esmeraldo de situ Orbis (ed. Kimble) Hakluyt Society London (1937), pp. 95-99, Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance (O.U.P. 1964) p.41.

5. P.E.H. Hair: "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast". Journal of African History, VIII, 2 (1967) p.253



Who occupied the Southern Temne Country during the nineteenth century, is a pertinent question to consider. Throughout the centuries, different people had lived in the region and thus the whole area can best be described as a land of mixed communities. The Portuguese who visited Sierra Leone in the sixteenth century called the coastal people 'Capez' or 'Sapi'. These people occupied the whole coastal strip from the Rio Pongas and Nunez in the north to the Mano River in the South.

The earliest writers thought the Sapi were a different people quite distinct from the rest of the coastal people. Almada (1594) and Cáoalo (1669) rejected this point and attempted to explain that the term 'Sapi' covered a number of coastal peoples who occupied the immediate interior as well.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Hair has also noted that the Portuguese applied the term 'Sapi' as a nickname to the whole coastal people, and linguistically, the term itself must have been derived from an African term 'Tapi/Capi' which was the section of the Landuma people. He supports his view by producing linguistic evidence of the very close relationship between the Landuma, Baga, and Temne languages.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, Dalby says that these languages together with certain interior languages form a distinct language cluster. He therefore, invents the term 'Mel Languages' to describe them, because, he feels they are of the same tongue; and that 'Sapi' was originally a name for the unidentified Landuma-Baga-Temne. He has also included Temne, Baga, Landuma and Kissi among the 'Mel Languages', supporting his view by producing evidence of similarity of certain common words, their

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1. Ibid, p. 253.

2. Ibid.

3. T.D.P. Dalby: "The Mel Languages: A Reclassification of the Southern Atlantic" - African Language Studies, VI (1965) pp. 1-17.

pronunciation and meanings. This clearly indicates that these peoples must have had a common origin, or that their integration had taken place so many centuries ago, and that culturally and linguistically, they had come to bear common similarities even though they still remained different peoples politically.

Because of the difficulty of indentifying these various coastal peoples, it appears the early Europeans employed the term 'Sapi' to describe all the African peoples known to them on the coast. In this case, it follows that everybody along the coast, including the Bulom and Temne, were 'Sapi', because, they were believed to understand one another, especially in matters of speech.

This confused state of affairs as to the identity of the coastal peoples was made much more complicated by the Mani invasion.<sup>1</sup> Fyfe says that this invasion took place towards the mid-sixteenth century; that it was the Portuguese who called the invaders 'Manes'; and the invaded coastal peoples, 'Capiji or Sapes'. After the Manes had conquered the Bulom and Temne, they were defeated by a combined force of some Susu and Fula. Continuing, Fyfe says that "the Manes were too few to people their conquered lands. Their King, Flansire (as the Dutch later recorded his name) returned to his kingdom of Quoja at Cape Mount, leaving sub-chiefs to rule".<sup>2 3</sup> Hair supports this view quoting earlier sources. There is no evidence that these Mani ever appeared to dislodge their conquered peoples to occupy their lands. Hair has recorded recent re-examination made by Dr. Walter

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p.2.

2. Ibid.

3. P.E.H. Hair: "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of Lower Guinea before 1700" - in African Language Review, VOL. 7, (1968), pp. 47-8.



Rodney which has revealed that the invading Manes did not dislodge their conquered peoples, but instead, they recruited most of them into their armies and that "the Bulom seemed to have provided most of the recruits for the Mani army."

The issue of interest in this question of Mani invasion is its impact on the history of the territory, especially along the coast. The first point to consider here is that the sub-kings the Mani King appointed to rule in his place after he had left, could not be identified with any group of people. That is, they could well be Mani who were the lieutenants to their king, or that they were the strong men recruited into the Mani army. It is possible that such sub-kings were only imposed on the people and not necessarily members of any traditional ruling families. In this way, the already confused intermixed coastal community was further complicated by additional intermixture of peoples with their own multifarious cultures and historical backgrounds. The second point is that the Mani invasion in some way or the other, influenced the languages of the coastal peoples, and that it is the linguistic aspect of the Mani invasion that is of historical importance. As Hair has noted,<sup>1</sup> the very word 'Mani' strongly suggests that the invaders were speakers of a Mande language. To support this view, he has stated that the Portuguese sources supplied a handful of words said to be in the Mani language, and has confirmed Almada's impression that the Mani speech was similar to Mandinka.

Another important point to consider in this question of the Mani influence on the coastal people is whether the Loko are not

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1. P.E.H. Hair: "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of Lower Guinea before 1700" - in African Language Review: VOL. 7 (1968), pp. 47-8.

remnants or descendants of the Mani. Two reasons may account for this suggestion. The first is linguistic evidence - that is, the Loko speak a Mande language, as did the Mani. The second is that Loko does not appear in the earliest written accounts. The earliest references to Loko existence in this region are dated as 1610, 1627<sup>1</sup> and 1669.

Now with reference to the Temne, according to these accounts, it is extremely difficult to define them. For centuries, they have inhabited the coastal region together with the Susu, Bulom, Loko, Mandinka, and Mani, and both their culture and language must, in one way or the other, be affected by the presence of these peoples. One notable example linguistically, of the presence of other peoples among the coastal Temne is the appearance of Loko and Baga words in the Temne language. In Maforki Country, the word 'Port Loko' or 'Bake Loko', which is the name of the chief town of that region, suggests that that area had to do with the history of the Loko people.

Temne traditions also clearly indicate<sup>2</sup> that Port Loko was once inhabited by many Loko people and the Temne war drums were all Loko in origin. These were the 'FANKA' (FANGA - in Loko) 'LARROW' (LALLOW - in Loko) and 'POPO'. The Temne only had the Buffalo's horns and Elephant's tusks, to blow to assemble the warriors and war-men.<sup>3</sup> But in the war-dance itself, they would use Loko originated war drums to provide them with music.

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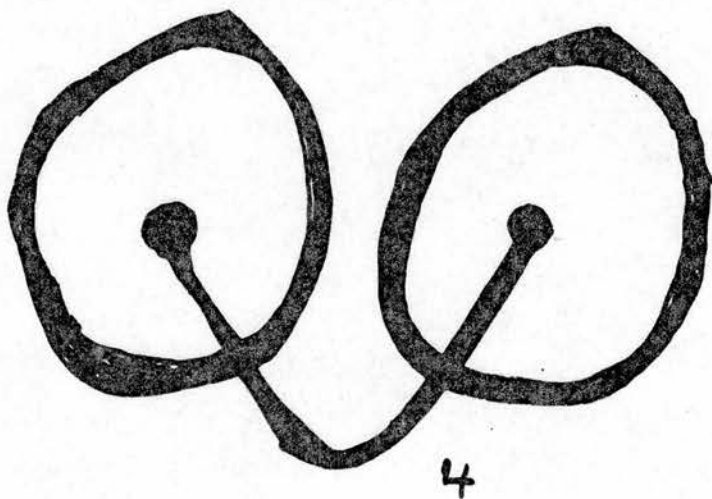
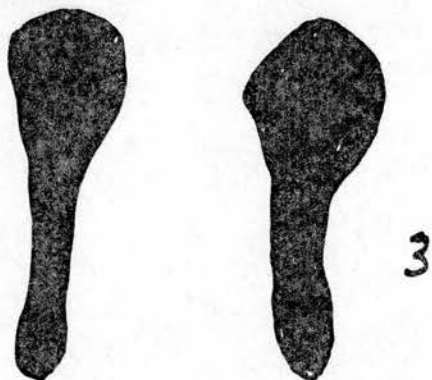
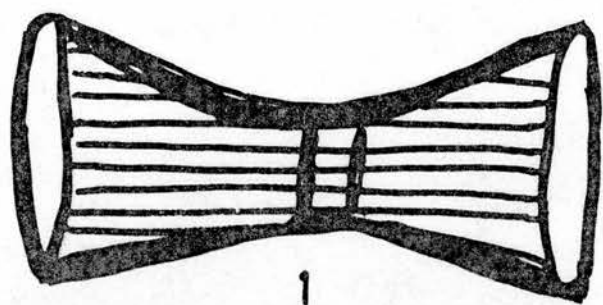
1. P.E.H. Hair: "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast" Journal of African History viii 2(1967) p.255.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alien B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.12.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.



# PLATE 1

LOKO WAR DRUMS ADOPTED BY THE TEMNE.

1. 𐎧 Fanka (Temne) Fanga (Loko)
  2. Kə Rɔ kɔ (drum stick) (Temne only).
  3. 𐎧 Popo (both Temne & Loko Pronunciation).
  4. 𐎧 Larrow (Temne) Lallow (Loko).
- 3 & 4 are two different types of symbols.

But besides the Bulom, the Temne were not the only people who had already settled on the coastal region when the Europeans first visited the country. Oral traditions collected throughout Southern Temne Country strongly point that the Temne found the Loko in most of these areas. These can be confirmed by information provided by some writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Laing who had travelled extensively in the north of Sierra Leone, says that,

"The Logo or Loko district is so called from being inhabited by a tribe of the Timannees of that name. They are more united among themselves and pay more deference to the mandates of their chief than the Timannees of other districts, and consequently both person and property of a stranger are in a comparative degree of safety among them ..... Previous to this event, the Lokos, like the rest of the Timannees of the present day, were not united among themselves, and afforded easy access to the entrance and settlement of Mohammedan strangers among them, who becoming powerful, at length established an authority which enabled them to compete with the native Pagan chiefs."<sup>1</sup>

Laing's comment on the Loko as a politically united people must be correct because they had all along had their kingdoms and were ruled by their own kings. He is however, obviously wrong to suppose that the Loko were a group of the Temne. The two peoples were quite distinct groups politically and culturally. Reverend  
<sup>2</sup>  
 Christian Schlenker who worked as a C.M.S. Missionary among the Temne for about twenty years (1840-1860) says, "The Lokos are a  
<sup>3</sup>  
 people of their own language and dialect." Fyfe has informed us of the existence of a Loko kingdom of Mitombo that was being ruled

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1. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa ... pp. 72-3.

2. C.F. Schlenker: Temne Traditions and Vocabularies (1961) p.29

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone .... p. 3.

by a Mani King; but by 1670, the Temne had supplanted them in that kingdom. This Mitombo has been identified with Port Loko. The Mandinka had also well established in the Temne Country. Laing found them already a dominant people at Magbele<sup>1</sup> and Mabum<sup>2</sup> in Marampa and Kolifa Mabang Countries respectively. In the former, they were the chief advisers of the king, Bai Koblo; and in the latter, they had their own separate settlement in the town.

Oral traditions recorded throughout the Southern Temne<sup>3</sup> Country say that originally, the Temne had no crowned Kings or

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1. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries in Western Africa .... 76.
  2. Ibid p. 108.
  3. Oral Traditions.

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alpha Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.76.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31. 1.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	8. 1.76.
Pa Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chief.	9. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Thgbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chief.	15. 4.76.
Pa Roke Kargbo, Fondu, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	14. 4.76.
Pa Alimamy Kamara, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	14. 4.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom.	14. 4.76.
Pa I.E. David-Maye, 18 King George Avenue, Kissy Dockyard, Kissy-Freetown,	25. 4.76.



Chiefs and that their political system was purely segmentary. By this they mean to say that the Temne had no unified political system or government and that their political, social, cultural, and economic affairs were arranged only by the recognized heads of clans or families; that anyone who could emerge as a protector or defender of the clan, was regarded as a leader, and as such recognized as head; and that the idea of government was introduced among them by Farma Thami<sup>1</sup> who migrated from 'RO-THORON' as a powerful warrior. Farma Thami himself, the traditions continue, did not fight the Temne as they readily joined him. Some of the Temne became his lieutenants, while others were among his numerous followers as mere war-men. In consequence, he was able to mobilize all the Temne, who were quite willing to follow him and obey his rule. In the end, he was able to organise them into small political kingdoms.

The origin of Farma Thami himself is quite obscure. No one seems to know for certain, to what people he belonged. According to the same Temne traditions,<sup>2</sup> some people say he was a Mandinka; others, a Susu, Bambara, Sangara, or Fula. But all these traditions clearly state that he was not Temne; that he only brought chieftaincy among them, although he himself was not known to be a ceremonially crowned and installed King or Chief; that he brought all the traditional societies among the Temne when he was introducing the different chieftaincies among them. He also gave the chieftaincies,

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1. Ibid. The traditions say that Farma Thami was not styled 'Bai' because the word 'Farma' is Mani or Mandinka, meaning supreme ruler. But European writers did not know this, and often prefixed 'Bai' to the name as 'Bai FarmaThami'.

2. Oral Traditions - see note 3 p.14.



## PLATE 2

TEMNE PARAMOUNT CHIEFS IN REGALIA, WITH THEIR SUB-CHIEFS IN ATTENDANCE.

Source: Sierra Leone Government Information Service, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Freetown, 1976 Calendar, p.2.

Left to right - P.C. Bai Koblo Pathbama III of Marampa; P.C. Bai Komp of Buya-Romende; P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II of Yoni Mabanta; P.C. Bai Kurr Kanssaky II of Kobifa Mabang; and P.C. Bai Forki Sonkoi II of Maforki. In their hands, they hold TA BONKOLMA (traditional staffs of office); round their necks are TA SANGBAN (traditional chains of office)  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  S $\text{\textcircled{E}}$ B $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  (Chiefly charms); over their bodies are their  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$ Yo $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$  (traditional Chiefly garments); over their heads are their crowns. Bai Koblo, Bai Komp, and Bai Forki wear  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  YIRIMA; Fula Mansa, the FARRAY; and Bai Kurr, the chief's crown of a Regbenle controlled crown. Only Bai Kurr that has KA S $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  WURR (the traditional chiefly spear). Bai Kompa of Koya, Bai Simra of Masimra and Bai Seбора of Yoni Mamella are not represented.

their sacred things or regalia, and crowned the first Kings in every kingdom. He died at Robacca in the Koya Kingdom, by sinking into a pool which remains sacred among the Koya Temne up to the present day.

These traditions, as is usual, do not give us the exact date of Farma Thami's arrival among the Temne in Sierra Leone. The earliest reference to this name (Farma) yet available is as early as 1582. In this reference, Captain Edward Fenton in his 'Narratives and Documents', refers to a King as 'King Farmr' or 'Fattema' <sup>2</sup> who was at war with other people such as the Sapps (Sapes?) Lympas (Limbas?) whom he defeated.

The Reverend Christian Schlenker of the Church Missionary Society who operated mostly among the Temne of Maforki Country and its neighbourhood, recorded in the late 1840's in Port Loko an oral tradition about the achievements of Farma Thami. According to this tradition,

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1. These sacred things or regalia are
    - (a) ɔ̃YIRRMA - the crown, made of country cloth, died brown and decorated with charms made by diviners. In the Poro Crowns such as those of both Yonis, the Crown is A FARRAY - which is a Poro Symbol. It is made from a leopard skin and also has charms round it and is regarded as sacred.
    - (b) The Kə BONKOLMA - The Staff of Office - made up of a bundle of fibres tied in the middle and at the end with a red piece of cloth and decorated with charms. It is the greatest symbol of authority.
    - (c) Kə SANGBAN - The Chain of Office or Orbe, hung round the neck, and long enough to fall down as far as the belly. It is made up of the teeth of a Leopard, Alligator, Baboon and Cowry shells.
    - (d) Kə SAWURR - The spear - also decorated with charms. It is the symbol of the right to protect the country.
    - (e) John Matthews (A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone, 1785, 1786, 1787 - p.77) observed that the Temne Kings in the late nineteenth century used silver-beaded canes, or gold-laced hats as tokens of royalty. These gold-laced hats are probably what the Koya traditions call 'RUN HATS', used by their Kings/Chief on installation day even up to the present.

2. E.G.R. Taylor (editor): The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton 1582-83 (The Hakluyt Society C.U.P. 1959) pp.103 & 108.



"Bey Farma came from the East, where he was for a long time; he was a great warrior. More than three hundred generations have passed away since he lived.

At that time the Temnes had no gun and no cutlass; they had only sticks, and spears, and bows and arrows, and bill-hooks, and knives to fight with. He destroyed the whole country. He took upon him the office of a captain of the army of the East, and waged war against the East country, and went all over it. He was the first to get money, and guns, and gunpowder, and cutlasses, and all sorts of arms. He stayed a long time in the East, and did not straightways come down to Port-Loko. He killed the Limbas and sold them; he was long there [that is in the Limba country - C.F.S.]; he killed the Lokos, and destroyed it country entirely. He came into the Temne country and lived at Belia.

Then he fought against Bey Yare, who ran, and went into the water with all his children, and with all his property, with all his rice, and with all his cattle; and Bey Farma remained and lived there; then he went forth, and waged war against all the Temne country, and went all over it. He expelled the Bakas, who were formerly at Port-Loko, and who went down the river in canoes towards the West; and the Maruns [by this name the Settlers were called who first settled at Sierra Leone - C.F.S.] , and all the people fled; He also expelled the Boloms and the Queas, and they came away from Port-Loko; he entirely expelled the people on the whole of the Rokel, and they all fled.

Then he settled at Quea country, and did not wage war again; he died, and it remained so then, they did not fight again. He taught people the art of war; there was no war before. Bey Farma was the first who waged war. Farma the Conqueror tied white men, and went and cut their throat, because he was superior to them ....."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this, Sayers, who lived and worked in the Northern Province of the Sierra Leone Protectorate for nearly thirty years, mostly among the Temne with whom he was highly connected, and had a profound Knowledge of their customs and traditions, has recorded this legend of Farma Thami:-

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1. C.F. Schlenker, op. cit. Also Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp. 19-20.

"The first great Temne chief was a Wasulu Fula, since known to the Temnes as Farma Tami, or the "conquering captain". He was a Sise, some say he was a Bambara, but, if so, he was of Fula blood also, as the Bambaras are Macina Fulas who mixed with the Susu when these came west. He came down from Toron Ro-Thoron through Sankara and Sulima or Koranko. They say his original home was Dala, a town far to the east behind the sunrise and near Maka [Mecca]. He came through Koranko, following the Seli down to Koya. He encamped each night in a round trench, and by day he and his warriors followed the river's course through the big forests. He conquered various tribes. His warriors married many of the women of the Bulloms in Koya. It was his conquest that divided the Lokos from the Mendi."<sup>1</sup>

As is common with many traditions, the recording of Rev. Schlenker is full of fantastic inconsistencies. The first of these is that of the age Farma Thami lived - 300 generations ago. Schlenker recorded this tradition in the 1840's and 300 generations (a generation being roughly 30 years) before that date must roughly be A.D. 940. To remember events of over 900 years with accuracy, is clearly incredible.

Secondly, although it is likely to be true, that during the earliest times, the Temne had as their war implements, only sticks, bows and arrows, bill-hooks and knives, it is unbelievable that it was Farma Thami who introduced guns and gunpowder, and cutlasses among the Temne 940 years ago, for these articles being of Europeans manufactures were introduced among the Temne not before the fifteenth century by the European traders themselves - that is, about 240 years before Schlenker recorded the tradition.

Thirdly, it cannot be true that Farma Thami was the first to get money in Sierra Leone, when the coin as a medium of trade, was only introduced in Sierra Leone in the early nineteenth century.

Fourthly, it is ridiculous to believe that the 'Bey Yare'<sup>2</sup>

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1. E.F. Sayers: "Notes on the Clan or Family Names Common in the Area inhabited by the Temne-speaking People" - Sierra Leone Studies, O.S. No. X (Dec. 1927) p. 21.

2. 'Bey Yare' does not seem to exist among the Southern Temne for none of the Oral Traditions I recently collected mentioned anything about him.

on whom Farma Thami waged war, ran and went into the water with all his children and property which included his rice and cattle.

The incredibility of the sections of this tradition is heightened by the episode of Farma Thami's fighting the Maroon Settlers (940 years before 1840) when these settlers in fact, landed in Sierra Leone only in 1800; and also to have "tied white men, and cut their throats", when no white man had visited Sierra Leone before the fifteenth century.

These discrepancies are probably a result of the tendency of the Temne to exaggerate their importance by over-glorifying their past. Such discrepancies have thus only succeeded in exposing the Temne as being unnecessarily ethnocentric.

Sayers' recorded tradition seems to be in agreement with the Temne traditions recently recorded.<sup>1</sup> This agreement occurs in the question of the uncertainty of the people to whom Farma Thami belonged - Fula, Bambara, Susu, etc. This is because oral traditions keep on changing and Schlenker's tradition was recorded at a much earlier date (in the nineteenth century) while that of Sayers, which is recorded in the twentieth century (1927), is nearer the most recent recording (my recording in 1976).<sup>2</sup>

All these three recordings however, do agree on certain points about the activities of Farma Thami - that he came from 'Ro-thorn' (the East or North); that he was a warrior; and after conquering many people, he finally settled in Koya where he died.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 14.

2. My recordings of Temne Oral Traditions in 1976.

But all these discrepancies in the three recorded traditions about Farma Thami point towards one important thing - the obscurity of his origin - for it is difficult to accept the view as historically true, of the existence of a one Farma Thami, for hundreds of years. This leads us to form three conclusions. Firstly, that if Farma Thami did exist as a historical character, there must have been several Farma Thamis, as the Temne, even up to the present day, only ordinarily refer to their Kings (Chiefs) as merely Bai Kompa, Bai Simra, Bai Rampa, Bai Koblo, Bai Forki, Bai Sebor, Fula Mansa, without indicating who he was, or is - such as Bai Kompa Pethru, Bai Kompa Bomboli, Bai Simra Thonkla, Bai Simra Kamal, Bai Ramapa Kakelle, Bai Koblo Pathbana, Bai Suba An Kochi, Bai Suba An Bolt, Bai Forki Sankolo, Bai Forki Sonkoyoi, Bai Sebor Kondor, Bai Sebor Queen, Fula Mansa Gbassankoro, Fula Mansa Kagbengbe or Fulamansa Gbabere.

Secondly, it may be the name Farma Thami does not refer to one individual or several individuals, or specific characters in Temne history, but that it has been used over the centuries as a symbolic personification for certain types of political, social, and cultural activities - such as conquest, the institution of chieftaincy and cultural societies, as a framework of political rule, legitimization of authority and the assertion of a Temne authority.

The third and final point to consider is a result of the combination of the first and second mentioned above. Since the Temne themselves have their origin quite varied, possibly, in their traditions the selection of a mysterious figure of sufficient weight and dignity to represent their origin would be quite important. This was the task of the authors of the tradition which have been handed down to succeeding generations over the centuries and must

have undergone some important modifications and amplifications, and exaggerations and embellishments, to be believed without question. In this endeavour, they often present 'God as the creator of their culture'. If a Temne man were asked about the origin of their language, secret societies, and chieftaincy, his answer would be that "God created them and gave them to Farma Thami <sup>1</sup> to give to us", and all the important aspects of their lives are wrapped up in mystery. This fact has also recently been noted by Professor James Littlejohn in his research on the culture of the Temne. <sup>2</sup> Farma Thami became the founder of their nation and the symbol of every great and mysterious event. So that if Farma Thami ever existed as a historical character, who organized the Temne as a political unit, gave them their cultural identity and crowned their first kings, he must have died many centuries ago. But because he was such a mysterious and charismatic personality among them, the Temne might have felt it important and advantageous to tie their political and cultural identity around such a man, and any great event in the succeeding centuries would be said to have been done by him, or through him or in his name, or simply attributed to him, so that the event might have unquestioned authority and patronage among the people. By presenting him in this manner, the Temne have succeeded in satisfying their quest for a glorified past and creating social homogeneity. In this regard therefore, the traditions about Farma Thami can reasonably be regarded as mere symbolic accounts of what the Temne wanted to believe (and also wanted others to accept) about

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1. My personal knowledge of Temne Culture.

2. Discussion on The Background of Temne Magic, led by Professor James Littlejohn, Prof. of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, on Nov.11, 1977.



their past. Although these accounts may not be true historically, they are of historical importance because the Temne, as any other people, must have a past, and this they must endeavour to present in whatever way they can, and in which process they must revolve it around some dignified and mysterious hero- such as Farma Thami, in this case.

But it appears by the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries however, the Temne had had their well established political institutions based on kingship organization. Their principal rulers were the 'KANDEHS'<sup>1</sup> which title was the equivalent of 'KINGS'. These Kandehs or Kings were supported in their administration, by their sub-chiefs and notable men in their Kingdoms. The King and his sub-chiefs were collectively called 'AN BAI'. A distinction should be made here between 'BAI' and 'KANDEH'.<sup>2</sup> The word 'BAI' can be a name of any male person, but in relationship to kingship, it is a generic noun meaning any 'Chief'. When the definite and indefinite articles 'U' and 'O' are prefixed to it, it becomes 'U BAI' and 'O BAI' meaning 'a Chief' and 'the Chief', respectively (the plural being AN BAI - the Chiefs). In this case therefore, 'BAI' embraces all the classes of Chiefs-Kings, Queens, Paramount Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs such as Kapprrs, Alimamys, and Santigies. For example, among the Southern Temne, we have Bai Rank and Bai Forki (in Maforki), Bai Rampa, Bai Koblo and Bai Suba (in Marampa), Bai Simra and Bai Yola (in Masimra), and Bai Sebor (in Yoni Mamella). The Koya people do not, as a practice, prefix

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1. My personal knowledge of Temne political and social institutions.
  2. My personal knowledge of the Temne language and culture.



'Bai' but 'Pa' to the title of their rulers, such as 'Pa Kompa, Pa Nemgbana, Pa Dikali (Alikali), and Pa Komrabai'. The Yoni Mabanta also do not use the prefix 'Bai' but simply call their Chief 'Fula Mansa'. The reason for this is that the word 'Mansa' (in Fula) already bears the meaning of 'Bai', so that it would be tautological to use at the same time, both 'Bai' and 'Mansa'. As a general practice and in their daily conversation, the Temne often prefer using the prefix 'Pa' to the titles of all their chiefs - such as Pa Kompa, Pa Nemgbana, Pa Forki, Pa Alikali, Pa Koblo, Pa Suba, Pa Simra, Pa Fola Mansa, Pa Seborra etc. It was the 'Pa' prefix Zachray Macaulay<sup>1</sup> used in addressing Bai Simra - as "Pa Simbra", and Rankin<sup>2</sup> in describing Bai Suba as "Pa Suba", also Chalmers,<sup>3</sup> the Royal Commissioner who investigated the 1898 Hut Tax War in the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

The word 'KANDEH' as in the case of 'BAI', can be the name of any male person. When the indefinite and definite articles 'U' and 'ɔ' are prefixed to it, it becomes 'U KANDEH' and 'ɔ KANDEH' respectively, (the plural being 'AN KANDEH', meaning the Chiefs, the Kings or Paramount Chiefs).

It should be noted that all the important rulers in every country had their own special names in addition to the general titles of their crowns.<sup>4</sup> In Koya, the titles of the principal rulers were Pa Kompa and Pa Nemgbana; in Maforki, Bai Forki and Alikaili; in Marampa, Bai Koblo and Bai Suba; in Masimra, Bai Simra and Bai Yola;

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1. Zachary Macaulay: Journals, under date 21.9.1793.
  2. F.H. Rankin: The White Man's Grave. (London, 1836) Vol. II, pp. 233-51.
  3. P.P. 1899, Chalmers Report, PART II, pp. 256, 295 and 354.
  4. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p. 14.

in Yoni Mabanta, Fula Mansa; and in Yoni Mamella, Bai Sebor, Kinna Faray, and Sathi Maka. To distinguish themselves one from the other, they would add their special names such as <sup>1</sup> Pa Kompa Bomboli and Pa Nemgbana Simor (in Koya), Bai Forki Fenka and Alikali Mariba (in Maforki); Bai Koblo Sankolo and Bai Suba An Bolt (in Marampa); Bai Simra Kamal and Bai Yola Bankra (in Masimra); Fula Mensa Gbassankoro (in Yoni Mabanta); Bai Sebor Kondor, Kinna Faray M'Bapi, and Sathi Maka An Soila (in Yoni Mamella). These second names were usually their warrior names or were derived from their ancestors, and would eventually become the names of their ruling houses, since each important crown had two or more ruling houses.<sup>2</sup> This was the distinction the Europeans did not know or were not told, and as a result, they would always make the mistake of thinking that one King could always rule for a very long time.

There were no ceremonially crowned and installed Queens as principal rulers. In Koya however, there were important women in the ruling houses styled 'AN BAI A B&RA' (Female Chiefs whom the European styled Queens), who would play important roles during the life time of the Kings and would occasionally act as regents during some interregna (explained in detail in Chapter III). In the other Southern Temne Kingdoms, women would be crowned only as 'KAPPRRS' (or Sub-Chiefs), and were among the Ceremonial Chiefs. In addition to the sub-chiefs, there were also notable men of the state known as 'AN GBONLI' (Tribal Authorities), and all of these were included in the class of 'Principal Men' in the same way as the 'JANAS' (ordinarily tough men) and would work as a team in the government of the state, and whose advice the King would always seek in making important decisions. The whole collection of these men formed the unit of administration in the state.

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

The whole system of Temne Kingship was very much tied up with the supernatural world, so that every crown was controlled by a guiding spirit who lived in a cave or mountain (or Hill) or pond or river or stream, where the King and elders would always offer annual sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> In Temne, this spirit is named 'ɔ KɔRFI',<sup>2</sup> and it had its own special Priests who were usually the leading men of the secret society controlling the crown. Before any coronation, installation, and burial of any King or Chief, 'ɔ KɔRFI' would have to be consulted and appeased with huge sacrifices, otherwise the ceremony would not take place.

To the Temne,<sup>3</sup> the crown was a sacred gift given them by God (KURU) through the Royal Spirits who handed it to Farma Thami to be finally handed to them. This was one of the reasons why the Temne never deposed their kings for they were selected by God's command, and could only be removed from office by God through death. The dead king could then be replaced by the usual customary selection in which the leading society officials would play the most important role as agents of God.

1. Ibid.

2. KɔRFI (Plural - AN KɔRFI) can mean a spirit, devil, demon, genie, miremaid, masque devil (of Poro, Bondo Chieftaincy) idol, or any mysterious creature, or carved or personified image - so that any unusual situation is described by the Temne as K RFI.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Kapprr Serra Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongba, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief.	14. 4.76.

In the organization of their kingdoms, the kings would delegate some of their responsibilities to their sub-chiefs. Each kingdom would be divided into sections called 'Σ BOMP' (plural, and singular being AN BOMP). Each section or Bomp comprised several towns and villages controlled by town Chiefs or village headmen. Throughout Southern Temne Country every Alimamy was a Section Chief, and every Santigie, a Town or Village Chief. A Kapprrr could also be a Section Chief or a Town Chief. All sub-chiefs were appointed by the King alone, and town and village headmen, by the Section Chiefs with the approval of the King. But as the Alimamys and Santigies were Muslim Crowns, they could not be Ceremonial Chiefs and were never crowned and installed with the king whose ceremonies were purely traditional, but would be crowned and installed separately by Muslim Priests. The Kings therefore, had their own ceremonial sub-chiefs. These were the Kapprrrs. They would be crowned and installed by the Kings sometimes at the same time. The Kings and their Ceremonial Chiefs had crowns varying according to the secret society controlling the crown, but the Alimamys and Santigies had turbans.

Writing on the political system of the coastal peoples in 1785, John Matthews stated that

".....the Bullams, and Timaneys, and Bagoes, acknowledge no power superior to their own.

The necessary qualifications for any person to ascend the throne are, a thorough knowledge of the local customs of the country; to be a good orator; to have a clear understanding, or, as they emphatically express it, to have a good head; to be sober, to be at all times ready and attentive to hear the complaints and redress the grievances of the subjects, and to be sufficiently powerful in his own slaves and people, who live under his immediate protection; to enforce the observance and execution of the laws."



"Except among the Mandingoes and the Suzees, few kings are natives of the countries they govern. So different are their ideas from ours, that very few are solicitious of the honour, and competition is very seldom heard of.

The reigning prince has the power of appointing a deputy, who, upon his death, succeeds to all his honours and authority; and governs, in his name, till they elect a new king. - If the deputy be a man of power and redress, he often takes possession of the property also of the deceased king, and secures it till the new king is elected, who will adjudge it to be the right heir. But it frequently happens that if the deputy is found equal to the task of governing, he is either confirmed in the dignity of king, or continues to act under the title of the deputy as long as he lives.

The present ruler of Sierra-Leone, who is in fact a deputy [probably, Nemgbana Farma], has reigned in that capacity for more than ten years; and his subjects are so well pleased with his conduct that they wish to make him King; but he appears to be satisfied in ruling with a subordinate title. - The revenue, or rather the emoluments of his office, arise from the presents made him on every occasion where his assistance or his authority are wanted; and which are always proportioned to the ability of the giver and the importance of the affair. - From a poor man, for instance, a basket of rice, a couple or half a dozen fowls, or a goat, would be accepted; but nothing less than the value of a slave would be taken in an affair of consequence.

The ensigns of authority of the Kings of the Sherbro are an elephant's tail carried before them; or, if it be sent by a messenger, it has the same obedience paid to it as to the sign manual. But I never observed any such tokens of royalty among the other kings, except what they received from the whites; such as a Silver-headed cane or a gold-laced hat. [These must be probably staffs of office and 'RUN HATS or RION HATS'].

Though the executive power and final decision of all cases is vested in the king, yet every head, or principal man of a village thinks himself sole lord within his own town." <sup>1</sup>

This is clearly a comprehensive description, covering some of the main aspects of the whole of the kingship organization of the coastal peoples including the Southern Temne among whom Matthews himself had lived for three consecutive years (1785-1787). It deals with such aspects as succession to kingship; the regency system; the royal

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1. John Matthews. Voyage to the River Sierra Leone ....pp.74-79.

insignia which were the symbols of authority; the government of the country; and the economy of the principal ruler. Matthews' accounts have been partly corroborated and partly supplemented by both written accounts and oral traditions recently collected among the Southern Temne.

Beginning with the Kingship succession, Parkes<sup>1</sup> Secretary for Native Affairs observed that as a general rule, the Paramount existed in a ruling family; that among the Temne the chiefship passed from brother to brother and that it was practically always kept in the family, and generally, the strongest took the chair; that in the event of the office becoming vacant, a selection was generally held; that the electors were members of the ruling clan and also the relations of the intending candidates; that everybody who had the social status, and even influential domestic slaves, had a voice through their master in the selection of the chiefs; and that sometimes, a wealthier and more influential candidate might buy the crown from the rightful successor, but who happened to be weaker and poorer. In the question of the hierarchy, Parkes maintained that the Paramount had rule over the sub-chiefs who were in charge of the sections of the chiefdom; sub-chiefs over Santigies in charge of towns, and these in turn controlled headmen in villages and fakais or sections of large towns; that slaves could be headmen but not chiefs and that the sub-chiefs were appointed by the Paramount Chiefs, and the ancillary chiefs of lower degrees, by the sub-chiefs, but with the approval of the Paramount Chief. The custodian of the authority for the election of the Paramount Chief was the King-maker, and in Koya Chiefdom, this was the Pa Nemgbana.

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1. See footnote 3 on p. 1.



Parkes' observation on the political structure of the natives as a general survey has much to commend it. This is with reference to the existence of the political unit itself with supreme power vested in the Paramount Chief and his election to office; the appointment of the sub-chiefs and Headmen and the hierarchical order. It should be pointed out that Parkes was here describing Koya which he previously knew about from T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, who was married into the Koya ruling family. With regard to the Southern Temne however as a whole, Parkes' version appears an oversimplification of the situation in the case of the succession to the Paramountship. In each of these chiefdoms, there were established ruling houses, sometimes two or more, which in most cases, ruled in rotational order. That is, whenever the office of the Paramount Chief became vacant, the successor would be chosen from the House whose turn it would be to rule. In Port Loko for instance, since the coronation of Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara the successor of Moriba Kindo Bangura, in 1825, two Ruling Houses had<sup>1</sup> been ruling alternately - the Bangura and Kamara Ruling Houses. Sharpe, District Commissioner, Karene District, has noted that

"There is a different rule in every district. I have never known the father-to-son system carried out. One instance I can give is of the Port Loko Chiefs who alternate between families. When the Chief dies, the people send his successor's name to Mr. Parkes, and if the Governor has no objection, he is duly elected." 2

Although Sharpe's observation explains what used to happen at Port Loko, the election of the Alikali was never without confusion especially so when the Sankoh family were repeatedly bidding to

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1. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes .... p.24.  
H.C. Hodson: "Historical Sketch of Port Loko ..." pp.40-41.  
C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone .... p.218.
  2. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report. Appendix I. p.193 No. 3360  
Evidence by Captain Sharpe, D.C. Karene.

regain the chiefship of the town. The Paramount Chief of the whole country including Port Loko itself, was the Bai Forki.

The Bai Forki Crown had five Ruling Houses. In Marampa, Masimra, Yoni Mabanta and Yoni Mamella, there were four Ruling Houses in each of the Chiefdoms, and the election to the principal chiefship was done rotationally. In Koya however, there appeared to have been five Ruling Houses, but the system of rotational election was never followed, even up to the first half of the twentieth century. As a result therefore, Political confusion in succession questions which were punctuated by interregna, became the principal characteristic of the history of Koya Country. This very complex situation in respect of the ruling houses also extended to certain subchiefships. Notable examples are the Komrabaiship and Ariboship of Maforki; the Nemgbanaship of Magbeni, the Alimamiship of Foredugu, the Alimamiship of Mathiri, the Komrabaiship of Fondu, and the Adikaliship of Mathenefore, in Koya; in Marampa, the Bai Subaship of Magbele and the Bai Polonship of Ropolon; in Masimra, the Bai Yolaship of Mayola, the Bai Subaship, the Kaprrr Kerrship, the Ngombuship, and the Ballaship, all of Rokon; In Yoni Mabanta, the Pa Kawanship of Magbafath; and in Yoni Mamella, the Kinna Farrrayship of Fondu, and the Sathi Makaship of Mamaka. The detailed accounts of this complex political systems are given in the specific chapters of each of Chiefdoms (Chapters III-VII). It is, however, important to emphasize that succession to kingship among the Southern Temne throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was never an easy process, as Parkes has put it - there were always fierce contests in each succession.

Cultural Societies played an important role in fostering integration in a socio-political sense. In this regard, they were also political and some of them in fact had a direct bearing to kingship organization. Among the Southern Temne, six such societies were of utmost importance from the eighteenth century onwards. These were, the Dondo, Rabai, A Kofo, Ragbenle, Ramena, and Poro. The Dondo, according to Maforki traditions, <sup>1</sup> was a hunters' society, which Bai Rank (elephant) an elephant hunter who became the first king of that kingdom adopted as an instrument of personal defence and protection. Its main functions were the ceremonial coronation, installation, and burial of the Bai Rank and his sub-chiefs; and to mobilize the hunters in a sort of secret service. The hunters were also responsible for the defence of the country as a whole. Every year, the hunters would make an annual celebration in which they would be highly patronized by the king. But this society did not seem to have gained any foothold in any other Temne Country, for no other tradition made mention of it on this point, whatsoever. <sup>2</sup> Two Koya elders however, inform us of the existence of a society of Bai Rank of Maforki which belonged to him alone, and which he often employed as a means of eliminating his political opponents. This was probably the Dondo Society, and its forest located at Port Loko, is still held sacred by the old people of Port Loko. But the existence of this society as a political force was terminated when the Bai Rank Crown (on the death of Bai Rank) was changed to Bai Sebora in imitation of the Bai Sebora Crown

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1. Oral Traditions.

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|---|-----------|
| Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,         | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,        | 14.12.76. |
| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, | 14.12.75. |

2. Oral Traditions.

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|---|-----------|
| Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, | 31. 1.75. |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,    | 3. 2.76.  |

of Gbambali Seborá Kingdom, whose owners were related to the Bai Rank family of Port Loko. With the new kingly title, came the new kingly society of Ramena. The Ramena Society continued to be the kingly society of the Maforki Kings even when the title of the crown was again changed to Bai Forki, by which name the principal ruler was named up to the middle of the present century.

The Rabai and the Bondo can be considered together in that both performed the same universal function of circumcision. The Rabai for men, and the Bondo, for women were initiated in every village mainly for the purpose of circumcising both the male and the female children reaching the age of puberty. These were practised by all the different peoples of the Southern Temne Country. John Matthews saw it practised among the Susu and Mandinka during his stay in the Southern Temne Country. In his account, he mentioned that the "circumcision of male and female children, whether a religious or political institution, is in general, but not universally practised all over Africa: but the circumcision of females I<sup>1</sup> never yet read or heard of in any country but among the Suzees and Mandingoes: with them, both sexes undergo the operation when they arrive at the age of puberty."

BONDO seems to have a Sherbro origin. Temne traditions<sup>2</sup> say that their Bondo hand drums the 'SAKA' (SHEGBULEH - in MENDE) were borrowed from the Sherbro. This is also the case in the Temne Bondo Mask Devil 'əŋ NAWO'. Further, and more spectacular are some

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone .... p.70.

2. Oral Traditions.

Nagaima Sesay, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,  
Madam Iye Kanu, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,

25.1.76.

25.1.76.



of the sacred song of the Temne Bondo. They seem to have Sherbro origin. One prominent example of such songs the Bondo girls first sing when they wake up very early in the morning - its words are all Sherbro:-

### SONG

Solo - Tutunde-e tunde-e!

Chorus - Tunde-e-e!

Solo - Tutunde tunde-e!

Chorus - Tunde-e-e!

Solo - A yema lani-o!

Chorus - A yema lani Ya mama, o mama thəm -e o!

Solo - A yema lani-o!

Chorus - A yema lani ya mama, o mama thəm -e o!

### Translation and versification<sup>1</sup>

Tutunde = Early morning dove.

A yema lani = I don't like it (i.e. to wake very early in the morning)

Mama = Mother = the head of the Bondo Society.

Solo - Early morning bird, awake'

Chorus - Early morning bird'

Solo - Early morning bird, awake'

Chorus - Early morning bird'

Solo - I don't want it (to wake up very early in the morning)

Chorus - I don't want it mother, o mother, awake'

Solo - I don't want it'

Chorus - I don't want it mother, o mother awake'

The Bondo girls sing this song very early in the morning and dance with the accompaniment of the music from the Bondo drums.

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1. This translation is made by Mrs. Doris Lenga-Kroma, who is Sherbro.

The important point about these societies historically, is their unifying effects in the socio-cultural sense; for during their performance, the initiates, parents, chiefs, suitors, and the whole of the community for that matter would meet and share in mutual merriment.

<sup>1</sup>  
A KOFO had no political function. Its functions were mainly cultural and economic. Culturally, it was a sort of free-masonry to which all male persons could be initiated on application. In the economic activities, its members would bind themselves together, to work communally, in the field for themselves. They could also be hired by other people to do certain agricultural jobs such as clearing the bush, ploughing, harvesting of crops, and transporting of commodities. It was very much used by the chiefs and other big men and traders to transport commodities and European merchandise to and from the coast, when the trade in produce was intensified in the nineteenth century. Such a society would therefore, have no 'tribal' boundary since its members would combine to enhance their economy, and in this sense it also helped to facilitate social integration.

<sup>2</sup>  
RAMENA, according to Temne traditions is a society controlling the ceremonies connected with the coronation, installation and burial of the Kings of Koya, Maforki and Marampa Countries. It is not certain whether it is of Kuranko origin, but it is clear that the Temne have been using it for a very long time now since the founding of the crowns it controls. Its connection with kingship however, was only limited to these ceremonies. It appears to be a woman controlled society, for all of its officials have always been

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p.14.

2. Ibid.



women. In Koya, since the inauguration of the Kingship by Farma Thami,<sup>1</sup> the officials of this society have always been the women belonging to the Ruling Houses; so that they could help to keep the continuity of their clans in the kingship. In this way, the society has assumed a political function. This fact is fully discussed in Chapter III.

RAGBENLE, Temne traditions say, is the oldest society among the Temne, having originated from Kurankoland. But since most of the Temne trace descent from Kurankoland, it is with little wonder that this society is spread throughout Temneland.<sup>3</sup> It is not in the main, a political organization and its functions are mainly social and cultural. Its political functions are limited only to the coronation, installation and burial of the Temne Chiefs of Masimra, Mabang, Kolifa Mayosso, Kolifa Mamuntha, Kolifa Rowalla Malal, and Mamaka.<sup>4</sup> Dorjahn has noted its function in this sense. His study of this society however, has far more anthropological material than historical data. But since historians must also be interested in Anthropology being a study of human behaviour in its social and cultural context, and as this subject views culture and society in a way which portrays the inter-relationship between various institutional aspects of culture, such as the organization of kingship, governmental or political systems, ritual and ceremonial practices, and religious beliefs, Dorjahn's article should be esteemed for its contents in the study of Temne history. Dalby and Kamara<sup>5</sup> have recognised this point when they acknowledged Dorjahn in

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1. Oral Traditions.

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18.2.76.

2. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p.14.

3. My personal knowledge of Temne culture.

4. V.R. Dorjahn: "The Organization and function of the Ragbenle Society of the Temne..." Africa XXX (April 1960) p. 157. TABLE I.

5. T.D.P. Dalby and A. Kamara: "A Vocabulary of the Ragbele Society..." Sierra Leone Language Review iii (1964) pp. 35-41.

their 'Vocabulary of Ragbenle Society'. These writers have described this society as being responsible for a number of important ceremonies associated with the installation and burial of Paramount Chiefs and the government of the Temne people in the areas where it operates. They have noted that "throughout Temne-speaking country, the society performs such general functions as divining and prophesying, (including the identification of witches) provision of 'medicine', and purification from incest and other taboo-infringements." Because of its universality in performing these functions, it appears certain that the Ragbenle Society transcends all 'tribal' boundaries in Southern Temne country, as the different peoples could live together as friends and colleagues under the influence of the society.

The second to the last, of the cultural societies to be adopted by the Temne people and which has exacted much political influence among the people was the PORO. As in the case of the other societies, attempts have been made to trace the origin of this Poro Society. The Temne themselves cannot tell where it originated, and their traditions can only say <sup>1</sup> that it was made by God and given to Farma Thami who deposited it in a pool in Yoni, Banta/Sherbro Country, from whence they borrowed it and brought it to Yoniland. From Yoniland, it was disseminated into the other Temne Countries where it now exists. But it is unthinkable to put credence on associating Farma Thami with the Poro Society. This is because, there is no element of Poro in the alleged place of origin of the <sup>2</sup> Temne which is RO-THORON (modern Guinea). Laing agrees with the

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p.14.

2. A.G. Laing, Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima ...  
p.93.

lack of knowledge of its origin when he admits that

"I have endeavoured in vain to trace the origin, or cause of the formation of this extraordinary association Poro, and have reason to suppose that it is now unknown to the generality of the Timanees, and may possibly be even so to the Purrahs themselves, in a country where no traditional records are extant, either in writing or in song."

This lack of the knowledge of the origin of Poro by both the Temne themselves and Laing does not in any way support the view that it was brought down by Farma Thami. Matthews clearly holds a different view. According to him, Poro originated among the Sherbro, and from Sherbroland, it was brought to Yoniland from whence it was disseminated into the other Temne Countries; and Dorjahn also agrees with this view. The tradition of associating the origin of Poro with Farma Thami therefore, appears one of the typical examples of Temne ethnocentrism. That is, the Temne would not like to give the credit of originating this powerful society to the Sherbro, but claim it for themselves by associating it with their legendary hero, Farma Thami.

Yoni traditions vividly point out that Poro had many functions such as being the supreme instrument of the government of their country; for settling disputes, for declaring war and making peace; and as economic sanctions. It is in this light Matthews sees it when he remarks that "The most singular law I have yet observed in Africa is what they term Purrah ... This wise political institution is disseminated through the country for the

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone ... p.82.

2. V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni ... p.83.

3. Oral Traditions.

Pa Kappr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76,
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76.
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22.2.76.

purpose of putting an end to disputes and wars, as the jealousy, pride, and irritability of the natives are such as will not suffer them, even when conscious of being the aggressors, to make concessions."<sup>1</sup> This is also the view held by J.C.E. Parkes,<sup>2</sup> Superintendent of Native Affairs.

But Laing holds a different view of these dignified functions of this society. His view in this regard, is quite a diabolical painting<sup>of</sup> the society as "... the Purrah, an institution which is much dreaded by the whole of this unhappy country [Masimra] .... their [Poro men] power supersedes even that of the headmen of the districts and their deeds of secrecy and darkness are as those of the inquisition were in Europe, in former years."<sup>3</sup> In this remark, Laing has given such a hideous picture of the society that the casual reader can have nothing in mind but to discredit it out-right. In another statement, he continues his attitude towards Poro saying that ".... those captured by the Poro who do not again appear, are supposed to be carried away to distant countries and sold."<sup>4</sup> He puts his statement more clearly in a footnote that "There is reason to believe that slaves sold (to the French illicit traders) at the Gallinas, include the supply from the Timannee Country,<sup>5</sup> furnished by the Purrah." Laing could not avoid adopting such an attitude against any association such as Poro,

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone ... p. 82.
  2. P.P. 1899: Chalmers Report, p.137. Append. A(2) Evidence by Parkes.
  3. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee ... p.93.
  4. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee ... p.95.
  5. Ibid.

which he would suspect of perpetuating the slave trade and a hindrance to the advancement of legitimate commerce, since part of his commission was to ascertain the position of the trade in the interior.<sup>1</sup> His accusation of Poro as an organization for the capture of slaves cannot however, be entirely dismissed as untrue. The possibility of this society to engage in wars to capture slaves cannot be precluded for after all, although the slave trade was made illegal in British territories in 1807, slavery and the internal slave trade were allowed to continue in the hinterland. Slaves caught at one end of the country were sold at another end to local magnates who needed them to fetch the produce needed to boost the new 'legitimate trade.' Moreover, during the time Laing was writing (1822) it was only the Sierra Leone estuary that was closed to the traffic in slaves, spoiling this trade on the Rokel River and the Port Loko Creek, and rendering the slave depots in Bunce Island, Port Loko, Foredugu, Mahera, Magbele, Rokel, and Rokon, defunct. In consequence, slaves caught in the Temne Country, could be taken to the south in Sherbro, Mende, and Gallinas countries to be sold; for the Atlantic slave trade in those areas continued to function throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and was terminated only in the 1860's.

The statements of these two writers clearly point out one important historical fact, that by early nineteenth century, Poro had had a strong foothold in the Southern Temne Countries. For its political functions Poro could be called to war and in this regard, Chalmers, the Royal Commissioner enquiring into the 1898 Hut Tax Rebellion, discovered that during that rising, "... the

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1. See Note 4, p.38.

Chiefs who were the leaders in the Mendi outbreak were united in a "one-word" Poro- which means, a Poro for agreement-binding them together to the hostile action they adopted." <sup>1</sup> Among the Southern Temne however, Poro was never such a uniting force as to take part against the Government during the rising. On the contrary, it was used by the Yoni under Fula Mansa Gbanka, to muster forces in support of the Government.

The Poro in the Southern Temne Country did not seem to be against European civilization, but on the contrary, favoured, and in fact, fancied it. As a proof of this, Poro names, by the early twentieth century tended to have European origin or influence. Prominent examples <sup>2</sup> are 'KOLERR, LAMP, LAWYER, KORENTHA, BOAT, KIAMP, POTH0, BANKALOR, etc. 'KOLERR' is the Temne name for red tafettin cloth which the diviners use very much in performing certain ceremonies. The name is given to any initiate with a very fair complexion. 'LAMP', has the same meaning as in English. An initiate with a fair skin and bright piercing projected eyes is given this name. 'LAWYER', as in English, is an advocate for the whole society when it is yet in the bush. In crucial matters, it is the initiate bearing this name that pleads for the whole body. 'KORENTHA' means a chain in Temne. The name is given to a very tall initiate. 'BOAT' bears the same meaning as in English. It is given to the initiate with the skill to direct a boat or canoe or raft in crossing streams or rivers. Carving canoes or making rafts is also his speciality. 'KIAMP' (or ROCAMP) <sup>3</sup> is the Temne name for Freetown,

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1. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report (C.9388). Report to Her Majesty's Commissioner and Correspondence on the subject of Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898, Part I, p.52.

2. Oral Traditions - My own personal knowledge of Temne Culture.  
 Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.  
 Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.  
 Pa Kappr Serrra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.

3. A.B.C. Sibthorpe: The History of Sierra Leone .p.7.



the capital of Sierra Leone. 'ROMARONG'<sup>1</sup> (place of thunder or cries or echo, or under the hill) was the name of the first village on the spot where Freetown was later founded. But the first Europeans who arrived there lived in camps which the Temne corrupted to 'KIAMP'. These were clean and decent camps. The name 'KIAMP' is therefore, given to any decent and goodlooking initiate. 'POTHO' is the Temne name for any European. It is a corruption of 'Portuguese'. In general, anybody who appears to be highly intelligent and quickly adopts European ways would be nicknamed 'O POTHO', and a Poro initiate with such an attitude would be so named. 'BANKALOR' is the house of the initiates where they would be for a certain period before their installation. The word is a corruption of 'BUNGALOW', which meant, European quarters. With the introduction of such names, one can realize that by the early twentieth century, European civilization was already being appreciated even among the cultural associations.

The last of the cultural societies adopted by the Southern Temne was the Egungun Society. In Sierra Leone generally, the name Egungun has been corrupted as 'Egugu' or 'Ogugu', and only refers to its mask devil.<sup>2</sup> The Society itself is called 'Ojeh'.<sup>3</sup> The Southern Temne call the mask devil 'YEKU' and the society, 'OYEH'.<sup>4</sup> Southern Temne traditions<sup>5</sup> say that the Ojeh Society was introduced in Sierra Leone by the Aku (Oku - so they are called locally).

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1. Ibid, AND A.B.C. Sibthorpe: The History of Sierra Leone ... p. 7.
  2. My personal observation.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.  
 Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.

When the slave trade was made illegal in British territories in 1807, the British naval squadron, having been empowered by the Anti-Slave-Trade Act, began to actively engage in capturing slave ships in the Atlantic. The captured slaves were brought to Freetown and set free by the Vice-Admiralty Court set up in 1807 for adjudication on the capture of slave ships. The freed slaves were thus called 'Recaptives' because they had once been captured and sold as slaves, and now recaptured and liberated. Fyfe records that by 1815, over six thousand of such recaptives had been landed. As the Government could not send them back to their original homelands for fear they might be resold, some were enlisted as soldiers in the British army, while the rest were sent to establish villages in the neighbourhood of Freetown. Here they became associated with the Southern Temne, the original inhabitants of those areas. Fyfe further records that by the 1820's, most of the recaptives came from Yorubaland in Western Nigeria. In the Colony, they were called 'AKU', an abbreviation of 'EKUSHEH' or 'OKUSHEH', or simply 'KUSHEH', which is their mode of greeting. 'AKU' became the general name by which all the Yoruba recaptives were known. Today however, the word 'AKU' is used only for Muslims of Yoruba descent. The Southern Temne however, call them 'OKU', and it is by this name they are popularly known in daily conversation today. The word 'AKU' now seems to exist only in records and in the close conversation of the Aku people themselves.

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1. C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone ... p.51.

2. Ibid, A Short History of Sierra Leone ... p.61.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Rafieu L. Deen, 29 Horton Street, Freetown,  
Pa E.I. Davies-Maye, 18 King George Avenue, Kissy  
Dockyard, Kissy-Freetown,

25.3.76.

26.3.76.

4. My personal observations.

The Southern Temne were among the natives of Sierra Leone who joined the Ojeh Society. The Society had some Christian members, as when in Benguema (near Waterloo), a few of them joined the C.M.S. Church in the 1840's.<sup>1</sup> But generally, Christian Missionaries were openly opposed to the Ojeh Society. A typical instance of such open opposition was when a missionary attacked a dancing Egugu mask devil in Freetown.<sup>2</sup> But since the Aku were Muslims, the Ojeh Society became deeply associated with Islam.<sup>3</sup> Lewally-Taylor has noted the association and impact of the Egugu Society among the Aku Communities in Freetown. Although Lewally-Taylor refers only to a situation in Freetown, yet, the fact is that the society had permeated among the Southern Temne who had, during the nineteenth century, embraced Islam far more than Christianity.

<sup>4</sup> According to Temne traditions, the Ojeh operated mainly in the trading centres along the coast of the Atlantic, the Port Loko Creek, the Scarcies, the Sierra Leone, and Rokel Rivers - in such centres as Kambia, Rokuprr, Mange, Pepel, Port Loko, Rothumba, Gbabai, Foredugu, Mahera, Magbele, Rokel, Rokon, and Macontheh. The society did not penetrate much inland. There were two reasons for this. The first was that its perpetrators, the Oku people, who

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p.234.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p.351, AND  
C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone ... Page 7 opposite p.51.
  3. Muctarr J.A. Lewally-Taylor: The Aku Community of East Freetown in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. (M. Litt. Thesis, University of Edinburgh 1976), pp.97-106.
  4. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alhaji Morlai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom, 3. 2.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.  
 Pa Alhaji Klusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23. 1.76.

were among the traders up-country, operated mainly on these coastal and river trading centres. The second was that the Ojeh seemed to adopt a militant or aggressive attitude<sup>1</sup> and there was fear that its serious penetration inland might disrupt the organization of the peaceful cultural societies such as the Ramena and Ragbenle, which were in fact, connected with the chieftaincy matters in Maforki, Koya Marampa, and Masimra. It was because of this militant attitude that it was vehemently opposed by the Poro Society<sup>2</sup> which was also militant and highly connected with the chieftaincy matters in Yoni - and up to the present day, no Ojeh could be heard of in Yoni Chiefdom, and in all the other chiefdoms where Poro dominates, for that matter.<sup>3</sup>

But the association of Ojeh with Islam has helped it to survive in Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra Countries mainly among the non-ruling classes, such as the traders and farmers.<sup>4</sup> By the first three decades of the twentieth century, Ojeh was already socially participating in local festivities such as Muslim feasts, weddings, installation of chiefs, the Rabai and Bondo initiates and in the burial of certain personalities.<sup>5</sup> In such festivities, their mask devils, accompanied by large crowds of members, would dance and provide much amusement.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Say Bamna Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chief.	9. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.

2. Oral Traditions - See note 1 above.

3. Ibid, AND My personal observations.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

In the cultural aspect, the Ojeh principal mask devil, the 'AJOGBO' ('AYOGBO' - in Temne) would be used in the detection<sup>1</sup> of witches and recovery of stolen property - quite exciting exercises which would draw large crowds of observers. In this capacity as well as in the provision of amusement at festivities, the Ojeh would be patronized by the big men among whom it operated. In this way, the operation of the Ojeh Society contributed in the process of social integration among the Southern Temne of Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra.

Native Religion was the third factor that helped to promote social integration among the peoples of the Southern Temne Country.<sup>2</sup> Temne traditions say that their original religion was tied up with their secret societies, the officials of which formed the priestly castes; that every member of the community belonged to some form of religion; but that every family or persons had their own private gods (or devils or idols). They also had a belief on the existence of a supreme Being called 'KURU' (GOD), but that they had no organized way by which they could worship him. Matthews observed this situation and vividly described the religion of the natives as,

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1. My personal obligation.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
Pa Amara Thana, Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
Pa Santigie Turay Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Roke Daw M'Nes, Makontheth, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.



"It is hardly possible for an European to form an adequate idea of the religion of the Pagan inhabitants of this country [the Temne Country] for they have no order of priests, nor any fixed object of adoration which might be termed a national worship; every man fashions his own divinities according to his fancy; and the imagination can scarcely conceive the monstrous, uncouth, ridiculous figures they adore.

They acknowledge and profess their belief in a God, who, they say dwells above them, and made and governs all things. If any circumstance of joy or distress happen, they very coolly say God sent it to them (unless they fancy it was caused by witchcraft); but without having any idea of returning God's thanks for the benefit, or, by submission and prayer, of endeavouring to depreciate his wrath. They make offerings indeed to their devils and genii, who they suppose are the executive ministers of the Deity. Their devils, who they imagine reign paramount upon the earth, are small images of clay, often renewed and made in some resemblance of a man; these are placed at the foot of a tree, and a small shed of dry leaves is constructed over them: various offerings are made to them of bits of cloth, pieces of broken cups, plates, mugs, or glass bottles, brass rings, beads, and such articles, but I never observed anything of value given to them; indeed when they want to render their devil propitious to any undertaking, they generally provide liquor; a very small libation is made to him, and the rest they drink before his alter.

Besides these devils they have images of wood from eight to twelve inches long, painted black, which are their lares (household gods); but they seem to pay very little attention to any of them, except when they think they stand in need of their assistance."<sup>1</sup>

In this description, Matthews is trying to show from his own point of view, that the Temne had no national religion, but personal or private modes of worship, the common belief on which would unite them in spirit, as they all believed in a monotheistic mode of worship.

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... pp.64-66.

For the purpose of defence, each Kingdom had its own warriors who would be posted to all the border towns to check invading forces.<sup>1</sup> These warriors were in effect, professional warriors for they could be hired by other people from other kingdoms as well. The result of such professionalism in warfare was the frequency of wars and their attendant insecurity of life and property. It should be noted that there were few large-scale wars. Most of the wars were merely small raids in which the general aim was never to kill or incapacitate, but to capture slaves. The Temne language has only one word for both full-scale wars and small raids - this is *RƏFə*. It was because of the opportunity to loot or plunder that professional warriors would always have many followers as war-men.

At this point, a distinction should be made between the professional warrior (*ᵛ KURGBA*)<sup>2</sup> and the war chief (*ᵛ BAI RƏFə*)<sup>3</sup>. The former, as his title indicates, would fight because fighting was his profession, and would not wish to know the cause for which he was fighting. The War Chief was the owner or patron of the whole fighting force and would maintain it while in action. This would usually be the principal ruler, to whom the warriors would have to carry the spoils (*KᵛᵛSHᵛ*), such as slaves and the looted property. The war Chief would then share the spoils as he thought fit.

In addition to the KURGBAS and war-men, the King would also depend a great deal for the defence of the Kingdom, to such people as the 'TOMLA', 'THUMBALA', 'THURA', AND 'ᵛANA'.<sup>4</sup> The 'TOMLA'

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 44.

For list of professional warriors, see Appendix IV.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

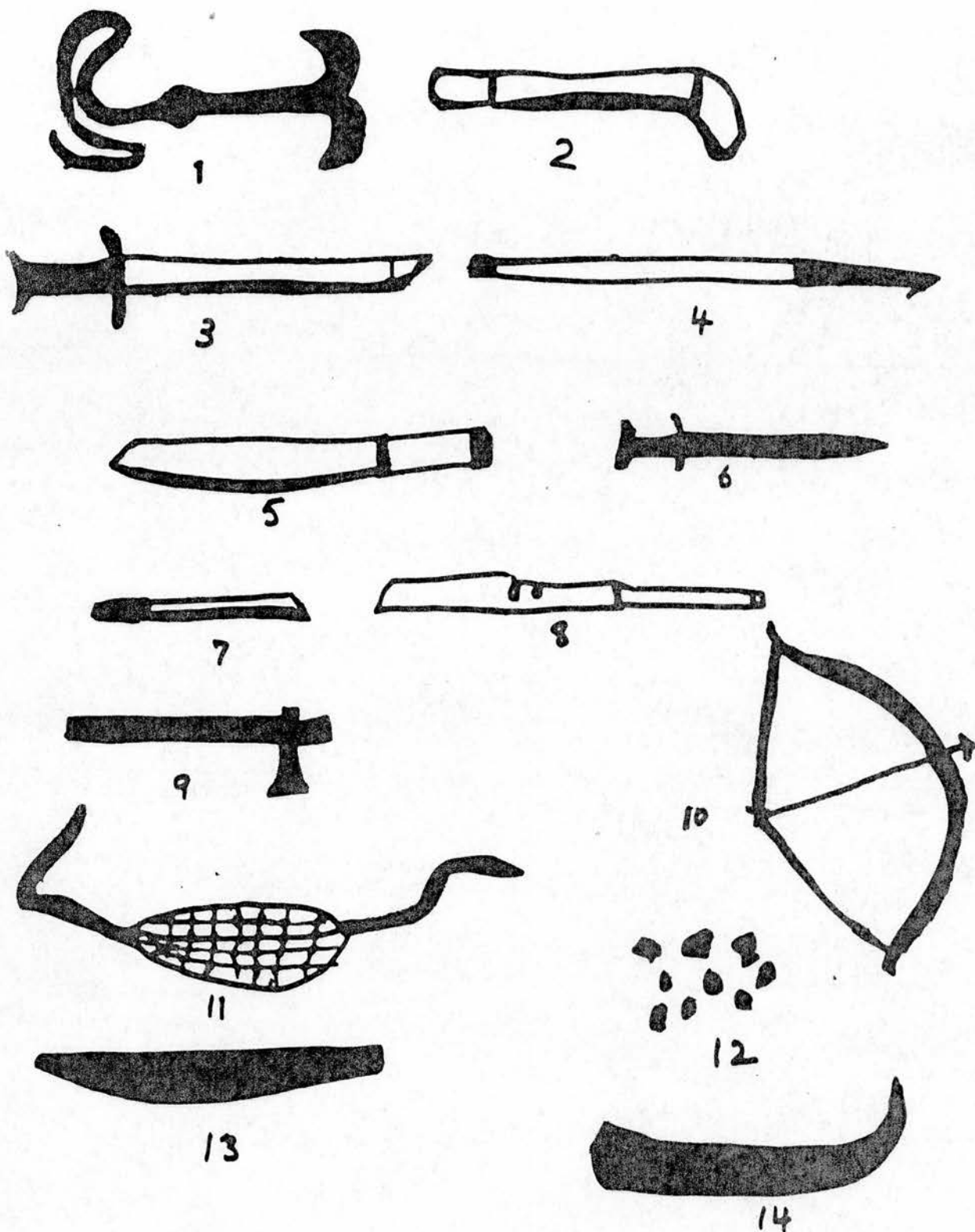


PLATE 3.

TEMNE WAR IMPLEMENTS

1. ɔ Kɔ nɔ (Bill-hook) -  
used only by the head warrior.
2. ɔɣ Boka (curved matchet or  
cutlass).
3. ɔɣ Gbathɔ (sword) - used only  
by the King or an important Sub-  
Chief).
4. ɔɣ Sorr (spear)
5. ɔɣ Wakka (straight matchet or  
cutlass)
6. ɔɣ Balma (dagger)
7. ɔɣ Thiss (knife)
8. ɔɣ Pinkarr (gun)
9. Kɔ Bapp (axe)
10. ɔɣ Banta yi ɔɣ Sorr  
(bow & arrow)
11. ɔɣ lanth (sling)
12. Mɔ Sarr (stones)
13. Rɔ Tanka (elephant's tusk)
14. Kɔ lɛ n Ka ɔɣ pankɔl  
(Buffalo's horn)

13. & 14. were blown to assemble  
warriors together.

was the professional spy, said to be blessed with supernatural powers of disappearing, and transforming itself into shapes and strange creatures. The 'TOMLA' activity would therefore be tied up with war, to ascertain the movement and secrets of the enemy, and to furnish intelligence. The 'THUMBALA' would be a strong man in the country. He could be a warrior or a sub-chief, or just some big man. The 'THURA' (the Bull) like the 'THUMBALA' would be any tough fighter. Anyone belonging to these groups would be described as 'HANA'.

The Magicians<sup>1</sup> such as soothsayers, diviners and Mari Men would also play their part in the defence of the state by foretelling coming events, prescribing sacrifices to the gods and the dead, and preparing charms (shebe) and 'MA-NASI' to be used by the warriors. MA-NASI (or LASMAMY - AKU) is the product of Arabic writing on a wooden slate called 'WALKA', and washed out with water. This 'MA-NASI' is said to possess the power of making the user bullet-proof or feared by his opponent. Skinner has noted this fact in his article "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)".<sup>2</sup> The non-Muslim Magicians would prepare the 'MA-FOI',<sup>3</sup> which is a product of certain herbs soaked in, or dissolved in water. The 'MA-FOI' is said to possess the same power as the 'MA-NASI'. Before the advent of Islam into the Temne Country, the people depended entirely on the workings of such non-Muslim Magicians. Even after Islam had penetrated into Temne Country, the non-Muslim Magicians were largely employed because they were

1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 44.
2. David Skinner: "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914" ... p. 502.
3. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p.45.

cheaper to maintain and the people were familiar with their crafts. Up to the close of the nineteenth century therefore, both the Muslim and non-Muslim Magicians were employed by the Kings in preparing the warriors. It should be borne in mind that the Temne people had strong faith in the supernatural world. Every important event or situation among them - such as farming, harvest, poverty, wealth, drought, famine, storm, chieftaincy, rain, sunshine, disease, brilliance, idiocy, gallantry, success, failure, war, peace, etc. would be attributed to some supernatural power; and so, appealing to the supernatural power through their diviners or magicians in times of national disaster was just one of those exercises to be first performed by their leaders. Such exercises were extremely important and were never overlooked. All the Kings and their sub-chiefs had such Magicians around them. As early as 1506-1510, Fernandes<sup>1</sup> had observed this total dependence on the supernatural by the Temne. According to him, sacrifices to the god ('cru') would be performed before going to war, farming, sowing, harvesting, birth of children, in sickness and health and for all sundry.

Poros were much used by the Yoni as an instrument of war and defence.<sup>2</sup> The Poros boys would be trained as warriors, spies, carriers, messengers etc., and all over Yoniland, there were war training camps located in the Poros bush, to which people from other countries would come to learn the art of war. As a political

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1. Valenti, Fernandes: Description de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique (ed. Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota, R. Mauny), Bassam (1951), pp. 81-97. Quoted in C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance ..pp. 24-27.
  2. Oral Traditions

Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Pa Roke Kargbo, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.
Pa Alimamy Kamara, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.



device, Poro could be used as a final court of appeal to settle certain crucial matters such as land disputes between Kingdoms or sections of the same kingdom. This illustrates the point that the power of Poro was the most supreme law in the countries where it dominated, and must therefore be observed by all.

But defence was not the only motive for waging wars. There were offensive wars as well, and also other wars fought for some other reasons, and such local wars were principal phenomena among the Southern Temne before the establishment of the Protectorate. The most notable of these wars, which were fought within as well as between kingdoms were for the acquisition of more territories for agricultural and settlement purposes; to avenge wrongs done to someone; and for economic reasons, such as for plunder and for booty, capture of slaves for sale and for domestic consumption; and for trade depots. The last motive was the cause of what is known as 'trade wars', which were very frequent in the Sierra Leone Hinterland during the nineteenth century, but which were of special significance in the Southern Temne Countries because of the involvement in them, of the several elements - the Southern and Eastern Temne, the Sherbro of Bompeh and Ribbi, the Kpa Mende Confederacy, and the Colony Government.

In their political structure, the Southern Temne had a specific judicial system. In this aspect, Matthews' observations can be considered. According to him,

"Their laws, handed down by tradition from father to son, are merely the local customs of the country; which differ, but not very essentially in every district or state - All the causes are tried by the king, assisted by the head men, in open BURREE or court; and there are a set of men called palaver talkers, (i.e. councillors) who plead on both sides....

Disputes among themselves, when brought to a palaver, are generally decided with equity, according to the evidence produced; particularly if the parties are equal in power; the losing party pays all the damages and costs of suit before he goes out of court, or is obliged to give security....

All capital offences are punished with either fine slavery, or death; but the latter is now seldom practised except among the Mandingoes, who rule by the Mohametan law, and proceedings are always summary; or, in cases of murder when the friends of the deceased take vengeance before the crime has been publicly judged.

Witchcraft, is slavery inevitable; but poison, adultery, or any other crime, may be compensated by fine."<sup>1</sup>

Matthews' description has much to commend it as it is a thorough exposition of the true nature of the judicial system of the Southern Temne. There are however, two points which are open to criticisms. The first is the case of all causes being tried by the King assisted by headmen in the open Barie. This view is not supported by Temne traditions which assert that the King would delegate some of his judicial functions to his ancillary chiefs scattered in sections, all over the kingdom - and located in towns

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone ...pp.79-81.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31. 1.75.
Pa Kompa Bomboli II, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
P.C. Bai Kablo Pathbana III, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	16. 3.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbogban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	8. 4.76.

AND my personal knowledge of Temne Culture and traditions.

and villages. The traditions must be correct here for it is incredible to assume that the whole country could assemble each day in the court of the King to decide all cases. It is however, true that the major offences such as murder, witchcraft, etc. were decided by the King with the assistance of his Principal men. Matthews must have made this mistake because he did not stay among the Southern Temne long enough (only three years, 1785-1787) and might have only seen court sessions in the headquarter towns of the Kings. The rest of the points which are cogently expressed and which cannot be validly challenged by any traditions or observations, can be related to, or supplemented by Parkes' memorandum on the judicial system of the natives.

In his memorandum submitted to Sir David Chalmers, the Royal Commissioner who investigated into the affairs of the rebellion in the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1898, J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs, gives a description of the judicial system of the natives,<sup>1</sup> and which also included that of the Southern Temne. According to this description, the court was formed by the Chiefs with the King as head, whose decision was absolute and final. He might however, delegate some of his judicial powers to some of his sub-chiefs, but all appeals were directed to him. There was no appeal from the King except an appeal to arms. "Murder, arson, adultery (woman palaver), theft, assault, debt, and other criminal causes were enquired into and decisions generally arrived at after consultation between the King and those of his principal men who sit with him."<sup>2</sup>

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1. P.P., 1899, Chalmers Report; Appendix A (2), pp. 136-8. Memorandum by J.C.E. Parkes.

2. Ibid.

The punishments meted out for offences were not uniform. They differed considerably according to the nature of the offence and the religion of the state.

<sup>1</sup>  
In 'pagan states', murder was punishable only by heavy fine or loss of blood; theft by flogging, restitution of the property stolen or its equivalent, or enslavement; witchcraft by burning to death and confiscation of the property of the person accused; rape by fine according to the position of the offender; arson, by rebuilding of the house and restitution of the equivalent value of the contents, fine, and in serious cases, enslavement of the offender and his family.

<sup>2</sup>  
In 'Muslim states' murder and rape were punishable by death; theft, by flogging for the first offence, loss of the right hand for the second, and the left hand for the third offence; arson by flogging or imprisonment; the strict Muslim state did not recognize witchcraft.

<sup>3</sup>  
In 'Mushrikeen' or professing Muslim states, murder was punishable by death or fine, according to the position of the parties and the circumstances of the case; theft by flogging, restitution of the property stolen or its equivalent, enslavement, and for old offenders, loss of limb; witchcraft, by enslavement of the accused and all his family and the confiscation of all his property; rape by fine, according to the position of the offender, and flogging; arson by rebuilding the house and restitution of the value of the contents, and in serious cases, enslavement of the offender and his family; and assault by fine according to the gravity of the offence.

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1. See Note 1, p.52.

2. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report Appendix A (2) p. 137 - Evidence by J.C.E. Parkes.

3. Ibid.

It will be noticed from the above description, that the system of adjudication in the 'Mushrikeen' states was a synthesis of both of the 'Pagan' and the 'Muslim' states. This was probably so because of the fact that although Islam had been widely spread in the Temne country by the end of the nineteenth century, all the states still had powerful 'pagan' influence. So, the people just had to be judged and punished by their own traditional system of justice based probably on their own animist religion rather than on Muslim law. This was the situation among the Southern Temne - that is, in all the states, only the principal men had been converted into Islam while the rest of the population still remained 'pagan'. Further, while only a few of the crowns had become Muslim, the majority were still either Poro, or Ragbele, or Ramena. For example, while the Port Loko Alikali crown had already become Muslim (but the Forki crown was still Ramena), the Yoni, Marampa, Masimra, and the Koya Crowns were still Poro, Ragbenle, and Ramena respectively. Thus these five Chiefdoms could not be correctly described as 'Muslim' or 'Mushrikeen', as Parkes has generally put it.

Further, a general description of the three systems of justice is given <sup>1</sup> that "there are no recognized scales of court fees" which could be paid either in kind or cash; that the staking of the amounts in certain civil cases was a general practice, such amounts being given to the winners; that 'buying of a palaver' was allowed in the event of being unable to pay a fine; that a special type of fine called 'Kassi' (Temne) was inflicted on one guilty of contempt of court or breach of some social customs; or insulting some

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1. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, Appendix A (2) p. 137 - Evidence by J.C.E. Parkes.



influential personality; that although there was the right of appeal from a lower court to that of the King, the cost involved would always be too heavy for poor litigants to proceed further; that where a guilty person fails to carry out the decision of the court, his property or he himself or his family would be taken to satisfy the judgment given. The cases described as most frequent were the women palavers called "crim. con. cases" or "prostitute decoy".<sup>1</sup> In such cases, the fines were imposed in proportion to the position of the petitioner and the co-respondent, and sometimes, resulted in the enslavement of the offender. They were sometimes based on very slender evidence for,

"A husband who has left his harem for some time, on his return questions his wives as to their several movements, and if he has any reason to suspect any unfaithfulness, he tries them by the ordeal of putting their hands in boiling oil, if they are burnt, he at once commences to flog them until they mention the name of their suspected paramour, who is pounced upon and made to pay heavily to the injured spouse, excepting he is fortunate to prove an alibi, or bring very convincing evidence to prove that it was impossible for him to be guilty of the charge." <sup>2</sup>

This statement conveys the impression that the husbands were always in the habit of allowing or even encouraging their wives to tempt weaker men, and then would turn round to protest indignantly, claiming compensation for the injury which they would pretend to have been done to them.

Witchcraft was proved by trial by ordeal of various types - that is, the accused who pleaded not guilty was tried by compelling

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1. Ibid. p. 136. - Women Palavers - (Crim. Con. Cases).

2. Ibid. p. 137, No. XI Memo by J.C.E. Parkes.

him to drink the concoction of poisonous herbs; to put his hands in hot oil; or to swear in 'Bad Medicine'; and in Muslim influenced courts, to eat 'Alfathia'.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed from the above statements, that in the Southern Temne states, there were well established systems of justice before the establishment of the Protectorate, which the people were used to. It is however, necessary at this point, to make some critical comments on the above description. To begin with, the statement that the decision of the King was absolutely final on all cases, cannot be correct, for it would be impossible for him to hear all cases in his country. It could only be possible in the case of major offences that were referred to him. In the case of appeal to arms, such incidents were never many since the appellants needed to be at least equal to the King by strength of influence and wealth to buy the services of the war chiefs or professional warriors and their numerous war-men who would have to be paid and maintained during the fight. Another difficulty often arose where the professional warriors or war chief would work hand in hand with the Kings. In such a case, the appellants would find it sometimes extremely difficult indeed to buy such fighters within their own countries; and to obtain them from other states might immediately induce the warriors within the appellants's states both in support of their Kings and in defence of their families and properties.

In the case of women palavers, their description as only 'crim. con. cases' or 'prostitute decoy', is rather too sweeping a generalization which completely eliminates the moral purpose of the punishment meted out for such offences. That is, the description

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1. P.P. 1899 Chalmers Report, p. 136 Appendix A (2) - Evidence by J.C.E. Parkes.

rules out entirely, the possibility of the desire to maintain a purer morality in the state by the rigidity in which the law concerning women palavers, was enforced. The description also completely rules out the prohibitive function of the enforcement of the law. This appears one example of discrediting the judicial system of the natives; although in societies such as in the Southern Temne Countries, where men might have many wives, such a practice could sometimes be used to make money. In such cases, the desire to maintain purer morality would become a mere pretext for women palavers.

One of the most important institutions which had a profound influence on the lives of the Southern Temne people was the institution of slavery. The slaves were owned by the big men who would keep them in separate villages to work for them. They were the domestic slaves used for field work, or as house servants. Some of the slaves did not dislike the idea of being domestics, for in this way, they would be better protected from harm and hunger. Temne oral traditions<sup>1</sup> reveal that slave labour was very much used by all the Chiefs and other big men all over the country. This institution of slavery seems to have existed among the Temne, long before the Europeans began to visit Sierra Leone by the mid-fifteenth century, for these Temne traditions say that the big men and the Muslim traders were already dealing in slaves before the "white men" came. In the case of the Muslims,

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 44.

Matthews informs us that "They [the Fulas] are strict followers of the Alcoran; and, by their wars for the propagation of their religion, furnish a great number of slaves which are sold in these parts <sup>1</sup> Sierra Leone." The Mandinka and the Susu were also engaged in slave dealing. The natives would barter their slaves for cattle to the Fula, Mandinka, and Susu who would either sell them inland to those who used slave labour, or to the Europeans on the coastal settlements. John Matthews giving a more detailed description of the situation as regards slavery, states that,

"Among the Suzees, Bullans, Bagoes, Timanees, three-fourths at least of the inhabitants are slaves; and among the Mandingoes a much larger proportion. - It is not an unusual thing for a head man to have two or three hundred slaves of both sexes, inclusive of their domestics who are very numerous; and some of the men among the Mandingoes have some seven hundred or a thousand who reside together distinct from their master, in what they call their slave towns; - these people know and feel their situation, for they are employed in very servile and laborious occupation; but there is a distinction to be made between the labouring and the house slave, the former, as it were fixed to the soil and held in no higher estimation than any other animal that contributes to its cultivation; but the latter is in some respect considered as a branch of the family, assumes his master's name, and calls him father; yet, these are hired out as sailors or labourers, not only to the Europeans, who are settled or come to trade there but also to each other; and their masters receive the wages of their labour. They are also obliged to attend their masters in their wars and predatory excursions, and frequently experience a change of them from that cause." <sup>2</sup>

Matthews' statement reveals three important noteworthy points about the institution of slavery. First, the people mentioned the Susu, Bulom, Baga, Temne, and Mandinka - were so deeply involved in slave dealing, that it necessarily follows that the Southern Temne Country was a great centre of domestic slavery.

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... p. 94.

2. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... pp. 149-150.

The second point that he gives two categories of domestic slaves - those engaged to work in the fields, and those used as house servants. The latter were much more respected than the former, and were treated as part of their families. This argument has also been presented by Grace,<sup>1</sup> who believes that in most cases, domestic slaves were kindly treated by their masters and by customary law. But it should be noted that this ought to be the case because, harsh treatment meant that some of the domestic slaves would run away, resulting in their masters' loss or reduction of labour force and social prestige.

Thirdly, the statement also shows that by the eighteenth century when Matthews visited the coast of the Sierra Leone River, slaves were being used as war-men, and as human portage to transport the commodities to the coast and European merchandise into the interior. This situation was to be highly developed in the nineteenth century. Some of the slaves who were employed to work in the farms were kept in villages of their own. But some of them did not seem to be satisfied with their station, and would sometimes rebel. Matthews himself seemed to have been in Sierra Leone during the Mandinka slave revolt of 1785.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Winterbottom,<sup>3</sup> travelling in 1793 through the Southern Temne Kingdoms of Maforki, Koya, Marampa, and Masimra, found numerous examples of the use of this slave labour. Laing,<sup>4</sup> on his journey through Marampa and Masimra in 1822, saw quite a good deal of slave labour. The Yoni were probably taking their slaves to the south at the Sherbro estuary up to the 1850, but when the Atlantic Slave trade was closed after 1850, the slave dealers in

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1. John Grace: Domestic Slavery in West Africa with particular reference to the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1896-1927, Frederick Muller Ltd., 1975), p. 168.
  2. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... p. 154.
  3. T.M. Winterbottom: An Account of the Native Africans ... pp.153-167.
  4. A.G. Laing: Travels ... p. 95.



that area would probably have been selling their slaves to the Chiefs who would again use them to gather produce for export to Europe.

With the establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1896, domestic slavery was allowed to continue. Even the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance, although it said that slaves could be free, yet the allowance it gave for slaves to purchase their freedom (£4 for an adult and £2 for a child),<sup>1</sup> was a recognition of the institution of domestic slavery. Cardew and subsequent Governors did not want to alienate the patronage of the Chiefs in the implementation of Colonial policy by forcing the abolition of domestic slavery. The Southern Temne Countries, therefore, situated at the trading centres nearest Freetown, continued to keep domestic slaves to increase their labour force to produce the commodities needed for the 'legitimate trade'. The possession of a number of domestic slaves was also a sign of importance and prestige for the traditional elite.

The retention of domestic slavery was a subject of much concern for both the Government and the Chiefs after 1896. Commenting on this subject, Sharpe, District Commissioner, Karene District, stated<sup>2</sup> that the domestic slaves included the slaves caught in war, or taken as a claim for debt; those sold as a result of their worse conduct in their masters' houses; their children and their successors; that slaves born in the house should not be sold; and that the masters were responsible for the commitments of all their slaves - such as their debts, protection and even 'buying their palavers'.

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1. P.P. 1899. The Chalmers Report, p.567. Appendix VII. Circular Letter Oct. 21, 1896, from Secretary, Native Affairs, explaining Protectorate Ordinance.
  2. P.P. 1899, p. 191 Appendix I No. 3333 The Chalmers Report. Evidence by Cpt. Sharpe.

The attitude of the Temne Chiefs on this subject of domestic slavery is well illustrated in one of their petitions<sup>1</sup> against the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896. The Chiefs involved were those of Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra. They appealed to the Governor to allow them to continue to keep their domestic slaves since these formed part and parcel of their families and that the Government should not allow runaway slaves to settle in the Colony. They argued that there was no such thing as slavery among them; that domestics had been given responsible positions; that it was their domestics that would farm and build the houses of the Chiefs; made and repaired the roads and bridges and acted as carriers; that the Chiefs had no money for such services and that the status of such chiefs was estimated by the number of their retainers, and that was why they vied with each other to increase the number of their people. On the question of the freedom of the domestic slaves, Sharpe also observed that "The so-called slave sits at his master's table and is treated as one of the family; and they are really unpaid workmen"<sup>2</sup>. By this observation, it obviously follows that domestic slavery had become a social institution which could not be separated from the economic life of the people. To abolish this institution would be tantamount to destroying the institution of chieftaincy. But the British needed the patronage of the Chiefs (i.e. to rule the country through the Chiefs) in the implementation of their Colonial rule in the Protectorate. It should be added that although the Protectorate

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1. Ibid. Appendix II p.578 No. XVII. Petition, Temne Chiefs against the Protectorate Ordinance - for transmission to Her Majesty, Freetown, June 28, 1897.
  2. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report, p. 191, No. 3328 - Evidence by Captain Sharpe.

Ordinance of 1896 provided for the liberation of slavery, there were not many visible cases among the Southern Temne in which slaves applied for such freedom. This was probably because, some of these slaves were afraid of being recaptured and resold; and secondly, some of them had nowhere to go as they might have lost contact with their original homes. The Government therefore, had to allow domestic slavery to continue up to 1928.

In general, the foreign policy of the Kings was indeed that of forming alliances and alignments. This was facilitated mainly by cultural ties such as religion, secret societies and marriages. Such alliances and alignments were more commonly successful among the Northern than among the Southern Temne. This was because, Islam (as their only factor of unity) tended to have a stronger influence among the Northern Temne than those in the south. Such associations were very useful in times of war. The six Southern Temne Countries however, did not seem to have any strong alliances or alignments among themselves. Throughout the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the Koya people were mainly engaged with their Colony/Koya politics. In this politics, conflicts would sometimes occur and none of their Southern Temne neighbours would help them. At the end of each conflict the Koya would be defeated. In the final analysis, Koya formed no alliance with any of the Southern Temne Countries.

Maforki tended to look towards the north from whence their first rulers, the Bai Ranks or the Bai Forkis, and the Sankoh<sup>1</sup> Alimamys came, and also the caravan trade. And in fact, in their oral traditions, they firmly reject Farma Thami as their hero. Further, like the Koya, they looked forward to the Colony for trade and for settlement of their political matters.

The Marampa Kings were never enthusiastic in asserting the importance of their origin which their traditions say<sup>2</sup> was Kabba, in Mali. Their main interest was on the caravan trade from the north and the trade from the Colony through the Rokel River. In fact, their Kings, the Bai Rampas or the Bai Koblos never left their headquarter town of Marampa Town.<sup>3</sup> All the important affairs connected with trade and treaty making with the Colony Officials were transacted by his most powerful and senior sub-chief, the Bai Suba of Magbele who thus became far more important than him the overlord.<sup>4</sup> In short, the Marampa Kings felt that they were so economically self-sufficient, that they did not need any alliance with any neighbouring country in order to survive.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom, 31.12.75.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa Bgana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa Gbana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20. 2.76.  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76.

4. Ibid.



The Masimra Kings seemed to be enthusiastic about their areas of origin - Kolifa and Kuranko Countries,<sup>1</sup> as their traditions show that warriors would sometimes come from those areas to assist them in times of war, and vice versa. Throughout the first three quarters of the nineteenth century the Bai Simras seemed to have dominated the politics of the whole of the Southern Temne region, with the most stable government. The reason was that there was utter confusion in most of her neighbours. Koya had had two long interregna (1838-1859 and 1873-1890), Yoni Mabanta had had a long<sup>2</sup> interregnum of over seventy years (1825-1896), and Yoni Mamella<sup>3</sup> had an interregnum of nearly twenty years (1879-1899), following<sup>4</sup> the death of Bai Sebor Kenkeh I in 1879. Detailed accounts of these interregna will be given in Chapters III and VII. Maforki was full of wars and intrigues for political supremacy from 1815 to the 1860's, (more details in Chapter IV).

Because of the unstable political situations of these neighbouring states, the Bai Simras were in this era, therefore regarded by the Southern people as the official fathers of their Chiefs or regents. They thus used the opportunity to consolidate their position among their neighbours and to attempt to carve an<sup>5</sup> 'empire' for themselves. Temne oral traditions reveal that the

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom, | 22. 2.76. |
| Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,  | 18. 4.76. |

2. V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni" p.88, Appendix.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Oral Traditions

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|---|-----------|
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,                     | 14. 1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,                  | 14. 1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,                    | 3. 2.76.  |
| Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Koya Chiefdom,              | 20. 2.76. |
| Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,            | 22. 2.76. |
| Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,               | 7. 4.76.  |
| Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, | 7. 4.76.  |



present chiefdom of Malal, the Yoni Mamella Section of Mamaka, the south-west Section of Yoni Mabanta, and the Mahera Section of Koya were all part of the Masimra Country. As rulers of such a vast territory the Bai Simras were thus in a position to wield much influence among their fellow Southern Temne throughout the nineteenth century. This was however, not an alliance but a domain, with its rulers, the Bai Simras, being looked up to by the rulers and regents of the neighbouring countries in settling disputes particularly those of an inter-territorial nature.<sup>1</sup>

The Southern Temne of Koya, Marampa, and Masimra could however, unite in times of emergency. This would be to beat off any attack on any of their territories around the Rokel River, on the trade of which their economy depended. In this case, the Yoni were often the assailants in order to gain access into the trade, and into which they were never allowed by these countries. The result was perpetual wars on the Rokel region. These were the nineteenth century trade wars in that area, and which were never stopped until the defeat of the Yoni in the Yoni Expedition of 1887.

The Yoni being so isolated, never looked up to any of their Southern Temne neighbours for any friendly association. Their allies were only the North-eastern Temne of Kolifa, Konike, and Gbonkolenken, who were also in search of access to the trade of the riverheads.

The cultural associations - Ramena, Ragbenle, Poro, and Islam - could not unite them. Ramena was only concerned with the chieftaincy matters in Koya, Maforki, and Marampa. In Masimra, it was the Ragbenle that performed these functions. Although this society was the most widespread among the Southern Temne, it was

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 5, p.64.

nevertheless, non-political, and was not forceful enough to unite kingdoms. Poro, which was the most forceful of the cultural societies was only concerned with the chieftaincy and military matters of both Yonis. Its presence in the rest of the Southern Temne Countries was merely social and non-political. Islam was too weak to do the job of unifying the people for it had not even gained a firm hold on them even up to the early twentieth century. So that throughout the pre-colonial era, the Southern Temne were not able to form any solidarity among themselves even to fight a common cause. Such divisions were later to be utilized by the British Colonial authorities in enforcing their policy of 'divide-and-rule', in governing the Southern Temne people.

The multifarious communities which had integrated in the Southern Temne Country developed their own economic system. Their economic activities included agriculture and trade. In the agricultural activities, the way they organized their land (or land tenure) was also an important consideration. Their trade activities included the local and the caravan trade which also included the production of food and other commodities for their local consumption as well as to supply the Colony; and the export trade included the slave trade and the produce trade.

The agriculture was done on the basis of shifting cultivation by which a patch of land was left to fallow for a number of years while the other lands were being cultivated. During these years, the fallowed land would regain its fertility and thus, make it productive when next cultivated. This system of shifting cultivation was tied up with

mixed farming whereby varieties or types of food crops would be sown or planted in the same area of land, but sometimes would be planted and harvested at different times. For example, rice, guinea corn, cuscus, beniseed, beans, and cassada, would be planted in the same farm following their appropriate months of planting, and harvested according to their different periods of maturity. The same thing could be done to millet, cassada, and corn. There is a cogent argument in support of this system of agriculture. The natives had no mechanized system of agriculture whereby the land could be fertilized, so that leaving it to fallow would make it acquire the necessary manure for the next cultivation. In the case of mixed farming, it would be impossible to have adequate land to plant all these subsistence crops, and so, by planting them together in the same patch of land or farm, the land would be economised for use by the numerous peoples of their clans and families.

In the land tenure among the Southern Temne, the land did not belong to any individual, but to families and clans. According to Temne traditions<sup>1</sup> the forests had been cleared by the ancestors who would have many children. These children or descendants would own the land together, and so on, for the succeeding generations. It therefore, followed that among the Southern Temne, land belonged to the ancestors, the present generation, and to the children yet unborn. Consequently, land among the Southern Temne could not be easily alienated by an individual either by sale or lease. The king of the country was the custodian of all lands for his people and he could distribute them whenever necessary. Even temporary alienation of land could only be legitimately transacted by the

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 44.

principal ruler on behalf of his people, otherwise such transaction would be illegal. A good example of this is provided by the incident of the lease of the land which later constituted the Colony area by King Tom of Koya in 1787.<sup>1</sup> Since King Tom was only a sub-chief of the Koya King, the lease was illegal according to Temne law, and thus had to be rescinded. It was later in 1788 legally leased by Nemgbana Farma,<sup>2</sup> who was the regent; for according to Koya Constitution, both the King and Nemgbana who was his principal sub-chief, owned the country together, and on the death of the former, the latter would assume full control of the country.

Among the Temne in general, land was very important. On the land, towns and villages would be located. On the land, crops for local consumption, such as rice, millet, beniseed, palm oil, palm kernels, kola nuts, plantains, and other grains, would be cultivated. Domestic animals such as cows, sheep, goats, and poultry would be reared for local consumption. All these animals would not be reared in large numbers and would be confined only within the immediate vicinity of the towns and villages. Fishing ponds from which fish could be caught for domestic consumption and for barter with other commodities or merchandise were scattered all over the lands. Building materials such as sticks, ropes, timber, grass or hay, to build their houses were obtained from the lands. Some of these lands were held sacred for the worship of their gods or spirits, for the installation and burial of their chiefs and society buses or groves. So that among the Southern Temne, land holding was the centre of the economic life of the people.

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1. C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance ... pp. 112-114.

2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1787-1856) Vol. II, p. 229, Treaty No. 1, of August 22, 1788.

Communal labour was employed in the clearing and cultivation of the farms, and the harvesting of the crops, in which some of the cultural societies principally 'A KOFO', would play a leading role. Fernandes observed this communal labour among the Temne especially in working for their Chiefs, as far back as the early sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Polygamy also had a significant role to play in this economic living. The numerous wives of the big men were among the labour force. While the men would be engaged mostly on clearing the farms, settling disputes, offensive and defensive wars, the women would do the ploughing, weeding, harvesting the crops, and the rest of the labour.<sup>2</sup> Laing observed this throughout his travels in Temne Country, and that was why he mistakenly thought it was the women that did all the work while the men remained idle all the time. But he was wrong in this estimation of the situation for Temne traditions<sup>3</sup> say that the men would be employed in the farms while the women, in cleaning cotton, preparatory to its being spun into thread. This simply means that there was division of labour between the men and the women among the Temne.

The Temne had their own trades. The women spun thread from cotton, and the men did the weaving of country clothes; blacksmith work for making agricultural and war implements, leather work, carving, carpentry, and making of bricks for building houses. We do not know

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1. Valentim Fernandes: Description de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique (ed. Th. Monod. A. Teixeira da Mota, R. Mauny) Bissao. 1951, pp. 81-97. Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ...p.24.
  2. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries in Western Africa, pp. 1-107.
  3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76.  
 Pa Gbana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76.  
 Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76.



when they began to engage in these trades but they must have been doing them for a very long time; for Fernandes mentions some of them in his writings in 1506-1510.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions some of their agricultural productions such as rice, millet, yams, beans, fish, fowls, cows and goats. These trades and productions did not seem to change over the centuries, for John Matthews, writing in 1786 on the trade of the Temne stated that,

"The only trade in use amongst them [the Temne] are those of the carpenter, blacksmith, and grigory maker; and their workmanship, considering the tools they use, often display neatness and ingenuity. Every family spin and weave their own cloth, and make their own clothes; the men weave and sew, and the women spin and card the cotton."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Temne traditions reveal that the ore used in blacksmith work was obtained from Marampa Country where huge flames of fire would be ignited to smelt the rock which would later be cooled down by pouring cold water to crack, and the bits of iron collected for the making of agricultural implements. The mode of production would however, improve over the centuries, as society and knowledge keep on changing.

But the trade organised in the Temne Country was more sophisticated than by means of barter. The 'bar' notion of calculation was adopted even up to the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> To the effect of its being used up to the late eighteenth

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1. Valentim Fernandes: Description de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique (ed. Th. Monod. A. Teixeira da Mota, R. Mauny) Bissao. 1951, pp. 81-97. Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance pp. 28-9.
  2. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, p. 107.
  3. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p.69.
  4. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p.44.

1  
century, Matthews noted that the districts in Africa had different denominations of value to the articles of trade and that from Senegal to Cape Mount, including Sierra Leone, the name of the nominal value given to goods was called 'bars', from which it was denominated, the 'bar trade'. Illustrating this point, he said, with regard to the slave trade,

"When the slave brought for sale is approved, you then agree upon the price at so many bars, and give the dealer so many flints or stones to count with; the goods are then delivered to him piece by piece, for which he returns so many stones for each, agreeably to its denominated value; and they always take care to begin with those articles which they judge most essentially necessary."

2  
Laing, in a footnote to his "Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries in Western Africa", defines the 'bar' as

"The term 'bar' which frequently occurs in this volume [Travels in the Timannee ...] expresses the quantity of goods, of any description, of a certain exchangeable value. The term originated in the early commerce of the Europeans with the natives of Western Africa, when the bar implied an equivalent to a bar of iron. The merchandise which now constituted a bar at Sierra Leone, is of the average value of 3s 6d sterling."

3  
In another footnote Laing gives examples of the value of the bar that in the Temne Country - that a 'bar' of tobacco consisted of ten heads, each containing five leaves and a small one to tie them together; that in the Kuranko Country, it was ten heads of three

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1. John Matthews, Journey to the Sierra Leone River ... p. 141. Matthews gives denominational values of other regions: e.g. From Cape Mount to Cape Palmers, they were called "Pieces", and therefore, the piece trade. From Cape Palmers all along the Gold Coast to Whydah, they were called "Ackeys" - the trade, the Ackeys trade. From thence to Benin, "Pawns", and its trade, the Pawn trade. From Benin to Bonny, they were termed "Nov" and Old Calabar, Cameroon and Gabon, "Coppers", and their trades, the Nov and Copper trades respectively.
  2. A.G. Laing, Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa
  3. Ibid

leaves; and that in Sulima Country, it was five heads of three leaves. Wright<sup>1</sup> has observed that before the coins were introduced in Sierra Leone the bar was the commonest medium of commerce used by the natives; that by 1794, the value of the bar was 3s 4d and that the traders priced the value of their goods to the bars, and that both the Europeans and settlers adopted the bar trade with the natives. All that these oral traditions and writers have succeeded in pointing out is that the 'bar' was not an object but a national rate of value.

For example, if two parties exchange some commodities, each had to receive what would satisfy him. Every commodity would therefore, be valued in notional 'bars' and exchanged accordingly. For instance, one slave worth of 100 bars would be exchanged for other commodities worth 100 bars - or perhaps, one slave worth 100 bars would be exchanged for 50 bars worth of tobacco, 30 bars worth of cloth and 20 bars of rum. To the Europeans, this system was advantageous in one way, and disadvantageous in another - advantageous because the value of the 'bar' fixed in West Africa sometimes fluctuated making it less than the value of goods bought in Europe and this sometimes made them make a lot of profit in their trade. In another way, it was disadvantageous because, in balancing their books, they had to count 'bars' into their own currency, which would be very confusing.

However, they had to use it because it was the only system of exchange common among the natives. Among the Southern Temne who were closest the Colony the 'bar' system was used for any form of calculation in any transaction - in trade, in calculating fines, in 'buying palavers' and so on. The caravans who came regularly from the Fula, Mandinka and Susu Countries to trade with the Colony had a good deal of their trade transacted through the barter system adopting the 'bar' notion of calculation and payment.

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1. E.J. Wright: "Remarks on the Early Monetary Position in Sierra Leone ..." Sierra Leone Studies, N.S. No. 2 (December, 1954), p. 136.

Since its foundation in 1788, the Colony always depended largely on the Southern Temne Country for the supply of its staple food, brought down by boats and canoes through the Port Loko Creek, the Sierra Leone and Rokel Rivers. Various articles in the Sierra Leone Weekly News<sup>1</sup> published in 1898 and 1899 listed down these staple food stuffs as rice, food, beniseed, palm oil, meat, coco-nuts, pineapples, bananas, plantains, beans, chickens and eggs, oranges, limes, pepper, potatoes, yams, pumpkins, grounds, cassada, foofoo, and farina. Fire-wood and charcoal which were used as fuel were also sent to the Colony. The sale of these articles within the Colony was mainly by means of money, for since the currency was introduced in 1792,<sup>2</sup> it was in circulation in the Colony and around the main river trading posts such as Tasso, Tombo, and Bunce Island, Port Loko, Rothumba, Foredugu, Mahera, Rokel, Magbele, and Rokon. But in the further interior of the Southern Temne Country the barter trade was still the dominant feature of the commerce of the region, conducted among the natives themselves, and the Krio hawkers who would penetrate inland with their European merchandise. For instance, Yoni traditions<sup>3</sup> state that it was almost impossible to see money in their country even after the 1898 Hut Tax War. Thus Fula Mansa Kafoim's evidence before the Royal Commissioner, Sir David Chalmers in August 1898, that his people had no money and that all the trade was conducted by means of barter, is corroborated by these traditions.<sup>5</sup>

1. "The Sierra Leone Weekly News", Vol. XV No. 5 Oct. 5, 1898; No. 19, Jan. 7, 14 & Feb. 11, 1899.
2. E.J. Wright: "Remarks on the Early Monetary Position in Sierra Leone ..." Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No. 3 (1954) p. 136.
3. Oral Traditions  
Pa Kappr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.  
Pa Kappr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 7.4.76.
4. P.P., Chalmers Report, Appendix I, "Oral Evidence", p. 270, Evidence by Fula Mansa.
5. Oral Traditions - see Note 3 above.

The caravan trade influenced the Southern Temne profoundly.  
1  
Temne traditions say that trade was brought to their country by the  
'Mori men' who would come in large groups from the north. These  
included the Fula, Mandinka, Sangara, and Susu people. These  
2  
traditions are corroborated by the findings of Trimingham and Fyfe  
that Islam was a religion of traders. That is, the Muslim holy-men,  
itinerants, teachers, and traders were one and the same people.

We do not know precisely when caravans began to visit Sierra Leone. But the pre-1800 caravans were probably on a small scale. By the nineteenth century however, these caravans were on a large scale. Mitchell<sup>3</sup> has indicated that by the mid-nineteenth century the routes taken by these caravans began from Bamako, Segou, Singuiri, Kankan, Dinguiraye, Timbo, Farana, all in Guinea, and entered Sierra Leone by Falaba, Musaia and Bunban. From these towns, they would enter the Temne towns of Kambia, Mange, Port Loko, and Magbele. These caravans would bring their merchandise such as gold, ivory, cattle, hides, and skins to Kambia and Mange from whence they would be transported to Freetown by sea, or brought to Port Loko and Magbele, and then by way of the Port Loko Creek and the Rokel and the Sierra Leone Rivers to Freetown. Some of these caravan merchandise

1. Oral Traditions  
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.1.75.  
Pa Alhaji, Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.1.75.  
Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 15.2.76.  
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76.  
Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella  
Chiefdom, 7.4.76.
2. J.S. Trimingham & C. Fyfe: "The Early Expansion of Islam in  
Sierra Leone "Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion" Vol. II,  
No. 2, (December, 1960) pp. 36-7.
3. P.K. Mitchel: "Trade Routes of the Early Sierra Leone Protectorate"  
Sierra Leone Studies, No. 18 (1962), p. 207 (Map).



would not however, always be transported to Freetown, but were bartered on the way to the ports, and would find their way into the interior of the Southern Temne country. This was the only way by which the Yoni would gain from the caravan trade, for up to 1896, they were still not allowed access into the Rokel River trade by their Southern Temne neighbours. When, after the boundary agreement between France and Britain had been concluded in 1895, the French took effective occupation of French Guinea, they diverted the caravan trade to their newly acquired Colony, and this affected the commerce of the Southern Temne Country. Bai Simra Kamal<sup>1</sup> was heard complaining bitterly against this diversion of the caravan trade, in 1896, and gave it as a reason for his inability to pay the Hut Tax. Although this complaint was only made by Bai Simra Kamal, the same economic depression must have been felt by other Southern Temne Chiefdoms such as Marampa, and more particularly, Maforki; for throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Chiefs of these countries benefitted immensely from the caravan trade by levying customs duties on goods and commodities passing through their countries, and by collecting taxes from resident traders.

One of the chief aspects of the economy of the Southern Temne was the slave trade. The Portuguese, being the first Europeans to visit Sierra Leone, were also the first to introduce European commerce into Temne Country. Slaves were among the commodities they would obtain from the natives, the others being gold, ivory, camwood a red wood used in the manufacture of dyes and grains. In turn, they would give the natives their manufactures. In Sierra Leone, the Dutch, English and French later on competed with the Portuguese.

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1. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report ... p. 569. No. IX, Letter, October 26, 1896, from Bai Simra to Ag. Secretary of Native Affairs, asking for further explanation about the Protectorate Ordinance.

John Matthews has furnished us with a comprehensive list of such articles such as cotton and linen goods, silk, handkerchiefs, taffitines, coarse blue and red woollen clothes, scarlet cloth and crain, coarse and fine hats, worsted caps, guns, powder, shots, sabres, lead, bars, iron bars, pewter, basons, copper kettles, and pans, iron pots, hardware of various kinds, earthen and glass wear, hair and gilt leather trunks, beads of various kinds, silver, coarse and fine check, and linen ruffled shirts and caps, British foreign tobacco, guns, powder, and rum. This slave trade went on for a very long time and up to the close of the eighteenth century, it (the trans -Atlantic Slave Trade) was perfectly legal for all nations - Europeans and Africans alike, who actively participated in it.

The beginning of the nineteenth century marked an important turning point in the economic activities of the Southern Temne Country. This was the period when the British made the slave trade illegal for all British subjects in 1807. Now that it had been made illegitimate, trade in produce had to be intensified and called 'legitimate', to replace the slave trade. But as a matter of fact, the trade in produce had always been legitimate even before the eighteenth century - the natives had been active in it and several European nations seriously competed in it. But the expression "legitimate trade in produce", was meant to produce a significant effect. In addition to its legal connotation, it provided a sharp social and moral contrast to the slave trade, making the latter practice stand condemned on moral and social considerations. In all instances, the exponents of the anti-slave trade movement had given this trade the epithets inhuman, barbarous, and a hindrance to civilization, which also applied to all

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... p. 147.

those who took part in it; so that the expression "legitimate trade in produce" was meant to produce the effect of making people withdraw from the illegal slave trade. In other words, the expression was to a large extent, a propaganda campaign against the slave trade, and an advertisement for the trade in produce which had now come to be effectively emphasized in order to boost British commerce.

But when the Atlantic slave trade was made illegal for British subjects in 1807, only the estuary of the Sierra Leone River was closed to the traffic, making Bunce Island slave depot defunct. Further, it was only in the British Colonies that the slave trade was made illegal. Since the Hinterland of Sierra Leone had still not yet become a British territory, the abolition did not affect it for the greater part of the nineteenth century; and in fact, the suppression within Sierra Leone itself had to await until 1896. Therefore, slaves caught in Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra, would be taken through Port Loko, Mange, and Kasse in Bai Bureh's country, to be sold in French Guinea, for the French had not yet stopped their trade in slaves in their newly acquired West African territories. Slaves were also continued to be sold within Sierra Leone to produce the produce for export to Europe and thus, boost the new 'legitimate trade in produce' - so that the produce trade which was supposed to replace the slave trade greatly depended on the slave labour. The Yoni were probably taking their slaves to the south at the Sherbro estuary, but when the Atlantic slave trade was closed at that area at the close of the 1850's, the slave dealers in that area would probably have been selling their slaves to the Chiefs who would again use them to gather the produce for export to Europe. The Southern Temne people therefore,

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1. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report p. 577, No. XVII. PETITION, TIMINI CHIEFS against the Protectorate Ordinance; June 28, 1897.

carried on with the internal slave trade until 1896 when the Hinterland was proclaimed a British Protectorate.

In the case of trade in produce, the commodities which attracted Europeans were timber, groundnuts, and palm produce. The petition of the Temne Chiefs against the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, gives in chronological order, the development of trade among the natives in which the Southern Temne Chiefs were actually engaged, that

"When the white people stopped the slave-trade in their country, to give your petitioners no cause of complaints for want of business, they introduced the timber trade. When that traffic failed, the growth and exportation of groundnuts was encouraged; as soon as that crop began to show signs of decay, palm oil, and palm kernels were introduced into the market ..."<sup>1</sup>

The chronology here is that the slave trade was replaced by the timber trade, groundnut trade, and finally, the trade in palm oil and palm kernels. It should be recalled that when the Sierra Leone estuary was closed to the slave trade after the passing of the Abolition Act in 1807, the most lucrative legitimate trade that was operated along the coast was the timber trade. Oral traditions<sup>2</sup> collected in Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra, say that there were great forests of large trees along the Port Loko Creek and the Rikel River before the slave trade was stopped; but that about twenty years later, all those forests had been cut down to produce timber. In Masimra,<sup>3</sup> the timber would be floated on the Rossolo Creek into the Rokel River, then down to Bunce Island and Freetown. Laing has informed us of

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1. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, p. 577. Appendix II, Document XVII, PETITION, TIMINI CHIEFS against the Protectorate Ordinance, June 28, 1897.

2. Oral Traditions - see Note

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Makinka, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.2.76.
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Santicie Rangura, Rovema Masimra Chiefdom,	18.4.76.

the existence of the camwood trees as far as Kuranko Country, which would be brought down to Freetown through the Rokel and Pampana Rivers. The natives could not distinguish between the camwood trade which had started at a much earlier date, and the timber trade which began only during the second decade of the nineteenth century. To the natives trade in any wood was timber trade.

The timber trade was introduced in Sierra Leone in 1816, by an Irishman called John McCormack. Within the first decade of its introduction, McCormack conducted the trade mainly along the coastal forests of the Sierra Leone and Rokel Rivers, and the Port Loko Creek, which were the chief waterways in Koya, Maforiki, Maramp, and Masimra Countries. On his journey to the Temne Country, Laing visited McCormack's factory in Tombo Island on the 16th of April 1822, and later wrote of the engagement of the Temne in the production of the timber,

"The eagerness with which the Timannees entered into the laborious and fatiguing work of cutting, squaring, floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone, is a convincing proof of their readiness to engage in any employment where they can get a reward, however small, of their labour. It is well known that during the time the timber trade was in activity several native towns were formed on the banks of the river, and many natives came from a distance in the country to engage in it. Timber was cut at the termination of the largest creeks at Port Logo, and even so far as Rokon, and floated down to Tombo, Bunce Island, and Tasso."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>  
John McCormack himself informed the Parliamentary Committee set up in 1830 to enquire whether the Colony settlement should be removed from Freetown to Fernando Po, that camwood, a hard red wood used for the manufacture of red dye, was plentiful in Sierra Leone and that the Timber was in great abundance in the Southern Temne areas along

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1. A.G. Laing, Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa ... pp. 28-29.

2. P.P. "Report of the Select Committee on Freetown and Fernando Po (1834), ... p.62.



the Port Loko Creek and the Rokel River. He had a timber factory at Tombo Island to which the heavy logs would be floated for shipment to Britain to be sold to the British Navy to build ships. The other timber traders were, Henry Williams who was an agent of Andersons; he built a house and sawmill at Bunce Island at the mouth of the Port Loko Creek; and the farm of Macaulay and Babington. The latter established at Tasso Island. In 1816, McCormack had shipped 716<sup>1</sup> logs of timber; but in 1825 he shipped 22,206<sup>2</sup> logs.

The groundnut trade became lucrative after the 1830's and its magnate was Charles Heddle. It was conducted mainly in the north including Koya, Maforki, and Marampa areas. In the case of palm produce, these areas of the six Southern Temne Countries were rich in palm trees. Palm oil was found to be more suitable and adequate than ~~the~~ animal fat in the making of soap for washing and for the lubrication of machines. This was also the case with Palm Kernels. They were used for the making of margarine for cooking. The English paid either cash or merchandise for these produce and therefore, had no need to penetrate inland to procure these commodities - they were produced by the natives themselves.

The involvement of the natives in the production of these commodities raised certain issues. The first was the employment of these natives as a labour force. In the Port Loko and Rokel areas, it was the Temne that were employed and McCormack found them willing to work for wages. It was they who would fell the trees, prepare

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1. P.P. 1842, Vol.XII, Report of the Select Committee on Freetown and Fernando PO (1844) p.62.
  2. Ibid.

the timber and camwood, climb the palm trees and cut the cones and extract the palm oil and kernels, and plant and harvest the ground-nuts etc. From this, another socio-economic result ensued in regard to the master/slave relationship. Rather than selling most of their slaves, the master would retain them as domestics to form their labour force to produce and transport the commodities. Wars for the capture of the slaves were intensified and the number of professional warriors increased considerably. This was quite paradoxical, for the introduction of the trade in produce was meant to end the local wars engendered for the capture of slaves and the perpetuation of the slave trade.

There were of course, slaves who would escape to the Colony to secure their freedom, but the vast majority of them would prefer to remain with their masters and one wonders why this was so. To find the true answer, one must realise that the master/slave relationship was to a large extent, a two way traffic. That is, there could be some advantages in the system accruing to both master and slave. The master could use the services of the slave to acquire wealth, influence and political power. In the case of the slaves, those who had lost contact with their original homes would prefer to remain with their masters to earn their living undisturbed. Moreover, by escaping, they incur the risk of being recaptured, kidnapped and resold as slaves to people who might not treat them as kindly as their former masters.

In this produce trade, both the Krios and the Chiefs took part. The Krios acted as middlemen and clerks for the merchants. In terms of entrepreneurship, they were next to the Europeans. They were also among the hawkers who would go up-country with their goods to barter for produce, with the natives. By the 1890's there

were about 40 Krio traders resident in Port Loko alone,<sup>1</sup> and Fula  
<sup>2</sup>  
 Mansa Kafoim of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom told the Royal Commissioner,  
 Sir David Chalmers in 1898, that there were already Krio traders in  
 his Chiefdom who were bringing clothes, spirits, tobacco and other  
 European merchandise, to barter, as his people had no money; here,  
 houses were not rented to them, but were given them free.

The Chiefs found legitimate trade a great source of income  
 as it was they who had the largest labour force; who by their law,  
 were the principal owners of the lands where the produce would be  
 obtained and the local towns where the trade would be conducted;  
 who were collecting the customs duties and rents which they would levy  
 as they thought fit. Examples of such chiefs were the Alikalis of  
 Port Loko in Maforki, the Bundukas of Foredugu in Koya, the Pa Subas  
 of Magbele in Marampa, the Smarts of Rokon in Masimra and Koya, and  
 the Alimamy Sesays of Rokel in Masimra. The Chiefs were thus the  
 most notable authorities in the landlord/stranger system during the  
 era. They would act as principal landlords and appointed their  
 favourites as middlemen. Both their domestics employed as labour  
 force, and their appointed middlemen would usually hand over all or  
 part of their wages or earnings to them.

The Chiefs economy was further enhanced by the court fees  
 and forfeitures, and from various tributes and contributions from  
 their subjects, either generally or for specific purposes. With  
 such income, they would secure their positions and maintain their  
 numerous dependants.

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1. P.P. 1899; The Chalmers Report, Appendix I, p. 493, No. 7955 -  
 Evidence by F.M. Stewart.

2. Ibid, p. 120, Nos. 2325-2326. Evidence by Fula Mansa.

The Yoni however, never gained much in these legitimate trade activities for the Temne of Koya, Marampa and Masimra never allowed them access into the Rokel River tide water trade. The Sherbros of Bompeh and Ribí and the Mende of Senehun did the same thing on the Yoni on their Ribí, Bompeh and Bagru Rivers respectively. Unable to gain access into these river trade areas, the Yoni resorted to fight and the wars which ensued were referred to as 'trade wars'. In these wars, Yoni would sometimes be victorious, but sometimes they would be defeated. But they would also be hired by other people to fight for them in an endeavour to avenge a wrong deed. The result of this situation was the occurrence of frequent wars, and nineteenth century Southern Temne Country was thus characterized by professionalism in warfare, making both life and property insecure throughout the first three quarters of the century. When in 1887, an expedition was mounted against the Yoni by the Colony Government, to crush their military power, peace was established, and professional warriors and war chiefs put to an end.

Islam and Christianity were the religious organizations which influenced the history of the Southern Temne Country. In the case of Islam, considerable evidence has been produced by scholars like Lewis<sup>1</sup> and Smith<sup>2</sup> to show that this religion had spread in West

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1. I.M. Lewis (ed.): Islam in Tropical Africa (O.U.P. 1966), p.15.

2. M.F.C. Smith: "Islamic Revolution of the 19th Century" - Journal of Nigerian Historical Society (Ibadan University Press, Nov. 1964), p. 170.



Africa at least, as early as the eleventh century, through the trans-Saharan gold trade. Its advance southwards was facilitated mainly by traffic and population movements to the more fertile areas.

Following this, large Muslim states such as Futas Jalon, Toro, Labi, and Bundu, were founded. In Sierra Leone, Islam was already influencing the kingdoms from the Melecourie down to the Port Loko areas especially in the large towns.

This view of Lewis and Smith has been strongly supported by Temne traditions<sup>1</sup> which state that Islam had entered Temne Country hundreds of years before the first 'White Man' - that is, before the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The Temne call the Muslims 'AN MɔRRE' ('ɔMɔRRE' - singular).<sup>3</sup> The word 'MɔRRE' developed from 'RO-MɔRRI' or 'Kɔ MɔRRI', meaning, on the other side of the river or stream, or overseas. People who come from such places are simply called 'AN MɔRRI' (MɔRRI - singular). Historically, the Southern Temne refer to all immigrants from Futas Jalon, Toro, Bundu; Timbo and Labi, as 'AN MɔRRI' because, they must have crossed the rivers Rio Pongas, Rio Nunez, Melecure, the Great and Little Scarcies. As the Southern

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Morlai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.65.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiak, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Alpha Sorie Brima Fullah, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	5. 2.76.
Pa Alpha Sorie Turay, Makuru, Koya Chiefdom,	5. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76.
Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23. 2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Turay, Roruks, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	13. 4.76.
Pa Kappr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yono Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.

2. Ibid. Also my personal observation.

3. Ibid.



Temne would regard all such immigrants as Muslims, the term 'AN MŎRRI' was used to describe all Muslims. Later, it was corrupted to 'MŎRRE', and the religion of Islam, 'RŎ MŎRRE'; and this is the term used all over Temneland today.<sup>1</sup> It is very rare to hear a Temne man speak of this religion as 'Islam' or 'Mohammedanism', and its followers, as 'Muslims'. They naturally use the words 'ŎMŎRRE' and 'AN MŎRRE' (for a Muslim and Muslims, respectively) and 'RŎ MŎRRE' (for Islam). When the English arrived in Sierra Leone in the seventeenth century, they mistakenly called certain Muslim personalities as "MORRAY", thinking this to be their proper name.<sup>2</sup> For instance, Zachary Macaulay called Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu, founder of the Bunduka family at Foredugu in Koya Country, simply as "Moriboondoo", and other English "Mori Boondoo" or "Mori Bundu",<sup>3</sup> and Corry, as "MorreyBundu".

The result of this influence was the production of distinctive Muslim cultures. In East Africa, the dissemination of Islam was done mainly by Arabs. In West Africa on the other hand, the Arabs were not the foremost, but by other Muslims and partly by Arabized peoples such as the Berbers. They worked in association with the natives of the Senegal valley. By the end of the sixteenth century the spread of Islam in West Africa was aided mainly by the activities of the Mandinka, Fula, Songhai, and Kanebu peoples. By this time, the leaders of the movement in West Africa were constantly assisted by the trade routes to the North Africa and Egypt together with the pilgrimages to the holy land. But it is doubtful whether the Berbers, Songhai, and Kanebu peoples were ever known in that part

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1. My personal observation.
  2. Zachary Macaulay: Journals ... Under date November 1, 1797.
  3. Joseph Corry: Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, (London, 1807) p. 46.

of West Africa embracing Sierra Leone. This leaves one with the desire to find out the other set of people likely to operate with the Mandinka in the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone. The most outstanding of these ever to be known have been the Fula. In other places in West Africa, the Fula are known by various names, such as Fulani, Fulbe, Pulo, etc.

The Mandinka are said to have originated from Manding<sup>1</sup> Country in the region covering the Upper Niger to Timbuktu. They were very powerful traders. They established powerful states in the Upper Niger, conquering other peoples, some of whom they would sell as slaves. They later adopted the Muslim religion, and by their trade activities, they were able to spread this religion all over West Africa. By the end of the eighteenth century, they had spread throughout Sierra Leone area to such an extent that most European visitors were not able to distinguish them from other Muslims and call them all "Mandingoes".<sup>2</sup> During his visit to the Northern Rivers in 1785, Matthews found them so predominant that he described that region as "Mandingo Country",<sup>3</sup> and writing about the inhabitants around the Sierra Leone River in 1786 and 1787, which was in fact, part of the Southern Temne Country, he described the Mandinka as,

"The Mandingoes who profess the Mohametan religion, are, in outward appearance, strict followers of the precepts of the Alcoran; nor could Mohamet himself have wished for more zealous promoters of his law. Fully sensible of what importance it is to have the conscience in keeping, they neglect no means of policy to spread their religious doctrines - where they are strong they use coercive measures; and where they are not in a

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1. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanee ... p. 124.
  2. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ... p. 85.
  3. J. Matthews: A Voyage in the River ... p. 69.

capacity to exert those means, they use every art of human subtilty can suggest. - In the villages of the tribes around them, they erect schools, teach their youths gratis, to read the Alcoran; and their missionaries, by temporizing with the prevailing follies and foibles of different nations which they visit; by assuming to themselves the sanctity and authority of the servants of God; by abstaining from all strong liquors and, above all, by pretending to have power over every species of witchcraft; and by their trade in making charms, do so insinuate themselves into the confidence of the Chiefs and principal people; that I never visited a town in this part of Africa where I did not find a Mandingo man as prime minister without whose advice nothing was transacted." <sup>1</sup>

Some of the Mandinka were pilgrims whose activities linked up the Mediterranean, the Sahara and the Atlantic coasts, with Mecca. In their peregrinations, they were often maintained by their hosts with gifts and alms, and for which Matthews describes them as "travelling mendicants". <sup>2</sup> Probably, Matthews did not realise that giving of gifts and hospitality to strangers had been part of Islamic and African culture, combined.

To locate the Mandinka in Temne Country, they were mainly operating along the big trading centres along the Rokel River and its neighbourhood. In 1822, Laing found them established at Magbele where their leaders, Tikla Modu and Fatima Brima rose up to the political rank of chief advisers to the principal rulers of Marampa Country. <sup>3</sup> Fatima Brima, a Mandinka, later joined the Temne forces who overthrew the Susu hegemony under Brima Konkori in Port Loko, and became the second Alikali in that country. <sup>4</sup> In Masimra Country, the

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... p.68-69.
  2. Ibid.
  3. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima ...p.29.
  4. Oral Traditions  
 Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 31.12.75.

Mandinka Sesays had dominated the affairs of Rokel where they were given the Alimamiship of that section of that country, as a reward for their help with charms, to Bai Simra Pa Nes (Kamal), to acquire the Crown.<sup>1</sup> In Kolifa Mabang, they had become so influential that they built a whole town for themselves which Laing<sup>2</sup> in 1822, found to be more sanitarily kept and more dignified than the Mabum of their Temne hosts.

With reference to the Fula, various accounts have been given about their origin. Hargreaves has pointed out that the "origins of these distinctive-looking people the Fula have been a subject of some speculative controversy; but that archaeological and linguistic evidence strongly suggests that after the desiccation of the Sahara, they settled in the extreme Western Sudan, probably in the Senegal Valley".<sup>3</sup> Suret-Canale<sup>4</sup> holds the view that they came from north to west Africa. Whatever may be their origin, it has been proved beyond doubt that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were large Fula populations in Temes and Macina from whence they staged migrations to the Futa Toro and Jalon, and the Gambia, in the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> In the succeeding centuries, they were said to have established the Kingdoms of Timbo, Labi, Futas Toro, Jalon, and Bundu. It should be noted that up to this point the

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom, | 22. 2.76. |
| Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,   | 18. 4.76. |
| Pa Alhaji Wusman Banba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, | 23. 2.76. |

2. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko ... pp.108-109.

3. J.D. Hargreaves: West Africa: The Former French States (Prentice-Hall Inc, 1967) p. 50.

4. J. Suret-Canale: "The Fula Islamic Revolutions of the 18th Century" - in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder: A History of West Africa, Vol. I (Longsmans, 1974).

5. J.D. Hargreaves: France and West Africa (Macmillan, St. Martins Press, 1967) p. 417.

Fula were only partly Islamised.<sup>1</sup> They were still a nomadic people and many of them were animists by faith. This was particularly so in the case of the Fulacunda,<sup>2</sup> who were the lowest in social status. Those who became traders usually adopted Islam while those who remained cattle-keepers or farmers retained their animist religion. It was these Fula who became the most active participants in the West African Jihads and were equally the most active vehicles in the spread of the Islam. Hargreaves has noted that although "not all of them [the Fula] were Muslims, many of these who had settled in the towns were noted for their piety and scholarship ... and they made their most famous mark on African History in the Jihad or holy war launched in 1804 by Uthman dan Fodio in the Housa State of Gobir."<sup>3</sup>

Traders, itinerants, teachers and holymen can be considered together in these islamizing activities, since they could hardly be separated, or the functions of one be distinguished from those of the other. Since the fifteenth century, the trade of West Africa had been conducted by traders called Dyula, who could be Mandinka or Fula, etc. They combined both religious and commercial activities, and thus, they became an asset in any community among whom they established. Skinner has recently noted these combined activities of these teachers in the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone -

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1. J.S. Trimingham & C. Fyfe: The Early Expansion of Islam in Sierra Leone - In Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, Vol. II No. 2 (December, 1960).
  2. Ibid.
  3. J.D. Hargreaves: West Africa, the Former French States ... p. 50.



"The spread of Islam throughout Sierra Leone was the result of the activities of thousands of teachers who migrated along the extensive caravan routes from Guinea and beyond during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Often these teachers were also traders or kinsmen of traders and warriors. They were trained as religious scholars and were imbued with the spirit of Muslim missionary activity. Mosques and Muslim schools were established to promote the faith among the indigenous population and to service the developing Muslim communities."<sup>1</sup>

As early as the sixteenth century, when the European trade was begun along the coast, the Dyula became the chief participants in this trade. The trade was mainly on slaves. The Dyula brought slaves, gold, and ivory to the Portuguese, Dutch, and French trading posts along the coast. The Europeans supplied salt, spirits and various manufactured goods which included textiles and firearms. Such trade also extended as far as Sierra Leone, and in this case, the Fula, Mandinka and Susu were also in active control. Many of the Fula, Mandinka and Susu were Muslims. But the last two, like the Fula, also participated in the Jihads.

Popular feeling seems to assert that the West African Islamic movements began with the eighteenth and nineteenth century jihads. This is probably because, the events of these later movements (most recent), are still fresh in men's memory, and there are many oral as well as written accounts in circulation about these jihads. Oral traditions<sup>2</sup> collected in Maforki and Koya however, refute this assertion, pointing out that Islam had reached those countries long before the arrival of the first 'white men'. This is probably a reference to the Portuguese who first attempted to christianize the inhabitants of the north.

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1. David E. Skinner: "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914). Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. X, No. 2 (1976), p. 501.
  2. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13. 1.76.

Earlier authorities appeared to have emphasized the reformist motives of the Jihads. These included the three nineteenth century Jihads of Uthman dan Fodio, Sheku Ahmadu and Alhaji Umar as well as earlier Jihads. According to them, these holy wars were waged to rescue Islam from the moral decadence into which this religion had been plunged. But this can be regarded only as a primary and not the sole aim. If this were the case, the movement would have meant little more than winning back the lost converts and the restoration of the tenets of Islam as were presented by the prophet Mohammed himself and his early followers. But it is also reasonable to believe that the jihadists were people with a strong desire to spread their religion by winning more converts even by employing coercive measures; and winning these wars was just one of such methods. As Willis has noted, although the jihads were essentially an instrument of revival, they "were employed for the purpose of extending the frontiers of Islam".<sup>1</sup> It was with this attitude that the Fula attacked and conquered the Sulima or Yalunka in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This obviously means that these religious wars were among the agents of islamization.

As far as Sierra Leone was concerned, it was the Futa Jalon jihad which was close to it that seriously affected the region. Its effect caused the migration of various peoples - Fula, Susu, Mandinka etc. - into the region. As some of them were Muslim, their presence in Sierra Leone was part of the islamising process in the territory. Although these holy wars did not spread into Sierra

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1. J.R. Willis: Jihad Fi Sahil<sup>Allah</sup> - Its Doctrine basis in Islam and some aspects of its Evolution in the nineteenth century West - in Journal of African History; Vol. V 8, p. 395.
  2. A.G. Laing: Travels ... pp. 399-419.

Leone, yet the conquest of Futa Jalon and the establishment of the Fulani theocracy begun in the area about 1725 and took several years to complete, had its accompanying islamizing effects. This incident included the subjugation of the Yanlunka of Sulima by the Fulani during the era. The Sulima King Assa Yira, who had been educated in Labi, embraced the religion more firmly, and some of his subjects (although the vast majority were not), were converted into Islam. By the end of the nineteenth century many of the Fula, Susu, and Mandinka adventurers dispersed from the north and settled among the coastal peoples. Some of these were Muslim and forceful enough to capture the leadership of the areas where they finally settled. Trimingham and Fyfe inform us that the Temne and Bulom in the north of the Scarcies area were dominated by the Susu Chiefs.<sup>1</sup> The area along the Melacourie and Kissi-Kissi had been understood to be a Mandinka Country because it had been ruled by the Mandinka Chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

Other factors of islamization among the Temne can be considered as well. In many sections of their writings some modern scholars<sup>3</sup> have emphasized the role of traders, proselytization, intermarriage, teachers and holymen, as important agents in the spread of Islam. Dwelling on this point when writing about the Temne, Person<sup>4</sup> stated that "the Temne under the influence of the Portuguese settlers had become Christianized, but they turned towards Islam as they gradually assimilated the Fulani, Susu, and Mandinka settlers", and that Port Loko became the base of for this cultural expansion.

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1. J.S. Trimingham & C. Fyfe: "The Early Expansion of Islam ..." p.36.
  2. Ibid.
  3. C. Fyfe, I.M. Lewis, J.D. Hargreaves, J.S. Willis, Ajayi & M. Crowder - the references to these writers appear or are implied in various sections of this chapter.
  4. Y. Person: "The Atlantic Coast and Southern Savannahs 1800-1880" - History of West Africa, Vol. II (ed. by Ajaya & Crowder - Longmans 1974), p. 266.

Person's statement needs some critical examination, as it forms one of the bases in the study of the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone particularly among the Temne. In the first place, the statement can be dismissed as an inaccurate assessment of the influence of Christianity among the Temne. The primary aim of the Portuguese was not to christianize the Temne but to trade with them, and they did not establish settlements in Sierra Leone as they did in other West African territories.

The second point to consider in Person's statement is that of the assimilation of the Fulani, Susu, Malinke, by the Temne. In this assimilation process, Person must be referring to the nineteenth century situations when the various peoples in the Temne Country had become integrated. But Islam had already entered Sierra Leone even before the Europeans - that is before the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Since some of the Fulani, Susu, and Malinke people were already Muslim, the Temne must have already had a touch of Islam before Christianity was introduced among them. Therefore, Islam must have already landed into Temne Country before Christianity, and not the other way round as Person has put it.

The third comment is that it is doubtful whether, as Person has put it, Port Loko was the "base of this cultural expansion of Islam" in the whole of Temneland. It is possible that the Mandinka Muslims, Tikade Moodo and Fatima Brima, who were influential in the Magbele politics as advisers of the Bai Koblo and the Bai Suba whom<sup>2</sup> Laing met there, might have migrated from Port Loko. But it might also be true that they originally came from Mandinka or Susu Country

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1. Oral Traditions

- Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomeporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.  
 Pa Alhaji Morlai Semhoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75.

2. A.G. Laing: Travels ... p. 29.

through the Port of Kambia by sea to Freetown, then up to Magbele via the Rokel River. Further, it is more likely certain that the Mandinka Muslim people this traveller found at Mabum in Kolifa Country must have reached there from the north through Sambaya, than through Port Loko, because of the circuitous and enormous distance involved. This was in fact, the route Laing himself<sup>1</sup> followed on his way to the Sulima Country through Kolifa.

Finally, it is more likely true to believe that the Fula who settled in Gbangbatoke in the Banta Country and later in Yoni where they became rulers as the Massa Kelles and the Fula Mansas, respectively, as early as the seventeenth century,<sup>2</sup> did not come from Port Loko. Yoni traditions<sup>3</sup> say that these Fula came from Futa Jalon through Kurankoland and first settled in Kolifa Rowalla in Massa Kama's Country, from whence they migrated to Yoni, and then Gbangbatoke. The same traditions<sup>4</sup> say that Massa Kaniba who founded the Kinship of Fondu in eastern Yoni Mamella was a powerful Muslim who had migrated to that country from Kurankoland even before the establishment of the Bai Seboru Crown in about 1800.

Person's statement is too brief and rather too incomprehensive to indicate the methods by which the spread of Islam was effected in the Temne Country in particular, and in Sierra Leone in general. This brevity may be accounted for by the fact that his

1. Ibid.

2. V.R. Dorjhan: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni ..." pp.81-98.

3. Oral Traditions

P.C. Fula Mansa Binbikoro, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	
Pa Kappru Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76.
Pa Backarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22.1.76.
Pa John G. Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	18.4.76.
Pa Kappru Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	18.4.76.

4. Ibid.



article is not intended to give an account of the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone but as a general history of West Africa mentioning Islamic movements as an important aspect.

The Bunduka Fula who had established the Kingdom of Futa Bundu at the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> also made a profound contribution to the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone. They arrived in Sierra Leone as agents of the French in trade. Later, they gained for themselves the Kingdom of Mafonda (or Dibia) whose capital, Gbinti, became "the Mecca of Sierra Leone".<sup>2</sup> In many places in Sierra Leone, the Bundukas are also known as the Bundu, the Wurries, and Jahs. They settled, traded, and ruled Foredugu in Koya, Rotifunk and Fula Town (present Modondowa) in Bompeh, Gondama in the Sherbro area, Gendema in the Pujehun area,<sup>3</sup> and Bathbana in Yoni Mabanta.<sup>4</sup> In every place they settled or visited, they were welcomed for their wealth, knowledge of the Koran, and for the occult power they possessed - the latter was not far removed from the animistic life of the Africans. By intermarrying with the daughters of the prominent citizens they were able to gain support among their hosts and spread their religion even in the remotest areas. Fyfe

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1. A.F. Ajayi and M. Crowder: History of West Africa, Vol. I, p.416.
  2. Oral Traditions

Pa Amadu Wurie, Mahera, Kaffu Bulom Chiefdom,	10. 4.76.
Dr. Sheka Kanu, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	13.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	13.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	13.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Maforki Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone - Various places.
  4. Oral Traditions

Fula Mansa Binbinkoro, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	20. 1.76.
Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22. 1.76.
Pa Bockarie Kanu, Bathbana, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	25. 1.76.

gives an example of such intermarriages contracted by the Bundukas in Koya. In that country the Bundukas married several daughters of the citizens and thus became the ancestors of many prominent peoples. Koya traditions <sup>1</sup> reveal that such marriages were contracted between the Bundukas and the daughters of the principal rulers such as the Nemgbanas of the Magbeni who were the co-rulers of the country with the Kompas. The Bundukas in that country were looked upon as authorities in all situations where good advice was needed. The Bundukas who did not rule traded and taught the Koran. The Muslim writers were the clerks and secretaries in the courts of the Kings; and among the Southern Temne, the Muslim titles of Alikali, Alimamy, and Santigie, were introduced and accepted by the ruling classes. It was such influence that induced Matthews <sup>2</sup> to believe that the advice of the Muslim Bookmen was needed in all transactions among the natives.

A very important factor which helped to firmly entrench Islam among the Southern Temne in the late nineteenth century is the way the whole Islamic order was organized. According to Temne

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15. 1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya Koya Chiefdom,	31. 1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18. 2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18. 2.76.

2. John Matthews: Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone ... p. 69.

1 traditions collected in Koya, Maforiki, Marampa, and Masimra, the whole movement had two distinct groups - the Jamat (or Jama) and the Tamba. 2 Lewally-Taylor informs us that these parties had been developing among the Muslim communities in Freetown since the 1880's; that the Jamat was founded by Alimamy Cheirawani, and the Tamba, by Johnson. These were very prominent Muslim leaders who were vying for position among the Muslim Communities in Freetown. Among the East Freetown Muslims these parties became factions, and instead of winning more converts, they succeeded only in generating bitterness among the Muslims.

The Jamat and Tamba were eventually imported among the Southern Temne and were organized in the large towns such as Rothumba, Port Loko, Mange, Foredugu, Magbele, Rokel, and Macontheh. 3 But the Jamat and Tamba among the Southern Temne were engaged only in friendly competition and never resorted to hostilities as those in Freetown. 4 Such friendly competition would be extended to the celebration of the Muslim festivals, co-operation in all activities connected with the installation and burial of their priests, and sub-chiefs such as the Alimamys and Santigies. 5 They would also

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom, | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alhaji Morlai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom,   | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom,    | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom,         | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,        | 13. 1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,               | 4. 2.76.  |
| Pa Alpha Brima Fallah, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,           | 5. 2.76.  |
| Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,   | 22. 2.76. |
| Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,         | 23. 2.76. |

2. Muctarr J.A. Lewally-Taylor: The Aku Muslim Communities of East Freetown in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. (M. Litt. Thesis; University of Edinburgh, May 1976), pp. 129-130.

3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1 above.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

contribute moneys to finance the funeral or burial ceremonies of other people belonging to their groups.<sup>1</sup> In this way, they won many more converts into the religion, generally.

But the Tamba among the Southern Temne did not survive long whereas the Jamat continued to dominate all Muslim activities, even up to the present day.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this, according to Temne traditions,<sup>3</sup> is that the names of the groups have specific meanings in the Temne language. The word 'TAMBA' (or THAMBA) has a double meaning - a name of a male person of a very low class, who is uncircumcized. It also means, tomato fruit (əŋ THAMBA - singular, and Mə THAMBA - plural). In the case of the Jamat (Yama - in Temne), it means, a vast concourse of people, a crowd, an assembly or gathering or congregation of dignitaries. The followers of the Jamat would taunt those of the Tamba, calling them children of the uncircumcized, and were even tomato fruits to be put into sauce for food - whereas they the Jamat (Yama) were the big men of the country. The result of the constant taunting was that the followers of the Tamba began to disappear until the whole party became extinct within 30 years. Conversely, in the case of the Jamat, it did not only survive, but it also remained the sole effective group to organize all Muslim activities and in addition, assumed the connotations - namely, any assembly of dignitaries (political or otherwise), and the totality of the Muslim universe.

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.97.
  2. My personal observations.
  3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p.97.



In the organization of the whole Islamic order, there were specific orders of seniority to be considered. These were the 'ALPHA', 'CHERRNOR', 'WOLIYU', and 'KARAMOKO'. Skinner<sup>1</sup> has also noted this order.

The 'ALPHA' was any male adult learned in Arabic who could lead people in simple prayers. His degree of learning did not matter - and as long as he could lead prayers, he would be regarded an 'ALPHA'. The 'ALPHAS' were therefore, the commonest Muslim leaders all over the Southern Temne Country. The second in importance was the 'IMAM'. The 'IMAM' was a leader of a Mosque (MISIRI or MISIDI - in Temne). In the Southern Temne Country, the 'MISIDIS' were the smallest and simple and could be erected even in the remotest villages. The Temne conception of a Mosque was that it was a big building for Muslim prayers and only erected in big towns. The local name among the Temne for 'Mosque' was 'MASLASI' or 'YAMI' (or Jami), and they still hold the view that all their 'MASLASIS' or 'JAMIS' are only imitations of the big one in Mecca; and only the CHERRNORS (FODAYS - in Temne) could officiate in such places. A 'CHERRNOR' would have to be an ordained Priest. The highest official in this order would be the 'WOLIYU', probably, the equivalent of Prophet. His would be a special class of his own because of his supernatural powers of working wonders or miracles. Among the Southern Temne, two such 'WOLIYUS' have always been remembered. These were Pa Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu, founder of the Bunduka Family of Foredugu in Koya Country. The other was Pa Ansumana Fonkay Sesay, founder of the Muslim Sesay Family at Rokel

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1. David E. Skinner: "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)". Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. X, No. 2 (1976) p. 504.



in Masimra Country. In the Temne language, the 'WOLIYU' would also be called the 'SAYIBA' or 'MANTHON'. Any of these officials could be styled 'KARAMOKOH', meaning, a teacher or scholar; and his disciples or school children, the 'KARANDAYS'. The whole team of all of these officials were actively involved in spreading Islam among the Southern Temne people.

A final factor which is of great significance in the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone, and particularly in the north and among the Temne for that matter, was the celebration of three important feasts namely, Maulidu-n-nabiy (the Birthday of the Prophet Mohammed), Idu-Ludha (the celebration of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of his son Issac), and Idu-l-ftr (to mark the end of the Ramadan or annual fasting), the exciting prelude to which was the Feast of Lanterns. This is the view strongly held by Maforki and Koya traditions.

Maulidu-n-nabiy, the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed is locally called by the Southern Temne as Rabi-l-wal, from one of the songs bearing that name, and which is still popularly sung at the eve of the feast, and is part of a series of related songs called 'MUN-MUHID'. 'MUN-MUHID' is said to have been written by a famous Muslim theologian called Mohammed Fazalzie in praise of the Prophet Mohammed. During the month of the celebration, many people, particularly the 'KARANDAYS' would be taught the songs which they would sing while parading the streets.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75.
Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.

2. Oral Traditions - see Note 1 above.

Idu-l-adha is the feast to mark the celebration of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of his son Isaac to prove his faith to God.

According to Islamic theology,<sup>1</sup> God provided Abraham with a ram in the place of his son which he instead, sacrificed. In every important family therefore, a ram would be sacrificed every year during the celebration of this feast. The Southern Temne locally call this feast 'YOMBETHEH',<sup>2</sup> because it is believed to bring them new life, and especially when it is also the feast to mark the end of the old year, and to usher in the new one.

Idu-l-fitr, appears the most popular feast as it ends the Ramadan, or the annual one month period of fasting. A day or two before the end of the day of fasting the Feast of Lanterns would be held. The Southern Temne locally call it 'WUTHPA', meaning a nightly parade with lanterns. The lanterns would be constructed from the pith of the bamboo tree, in imitation of all sorts of objects and images - such as a clock, a car, train, house, mosque, boat, steamer, aeroplane, horse, cow, elephant, wolf, lion, etc. They would be covered with cotton nets and kite paper, and the inside lit with candles. Professional lantern builders would be hired by Jamats and Tambas, and these would compete in producing the best for their groups - a very exciting competition indeed.

The origin of the Feast of Lanterns is difficult to trace.<sup>3</sup> Maforki traditions assert that the celebration of this feast almost

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.100.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.

came together with the introduction of Islam in the town of Port Loko itself, and this, the traditions continue, had taken place even before the arrival of the English in the country. But the phrase 'before the arrival of the English' is vague to date. It could be before 1760 when the English merchants began to do big business on the rivers including the Port Loko Creek, or before 1787 when the Settlers were landed on the peninsula. In either case, what the narrators of the traditions are trying to do is to point out that the Feast of Lanterns had been inaugurated a very long time ago - far long ago than they can remember.

The common feature of all these celebrations were nightly vigils, crowned by public prayers in the mosques, private prayers in homes, public prayers at the 'SALKENE' (Muslim Prayer Field) on the morning of each festival day. The public prayers were led by the ALPHAS, IMAMS, KARAMOHOHS, or CHERRNORS, at which time they would deliver sermons on the teachings of the Prophet, and would propound on the law and rituals. After the prayers certain activities such as communal feasting, singing and dancing, firing of guns, fireworks and public processions - and these sometimes lasted for a whole festival day. These festivals were good occasions for Muslim educational activities, and sharing of food and giving of alms to all Muslims. And these activities greatly helped to unify all Muslims socially and spiritually.

Another important thing about these feasts is their role in the spread of Islam among the Temne and how they aided social integration. They helped to increase the number of converts especially those who were only marginal believers. In their celebrations the singing, dancing and eating a common meal together with their communal practice would facilitate social homogeneity.

In this way, Islam in the Southern Temne Country transcended all ethnic or 'tribal' boundaries.

Giving reasons for the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone up to 1914, Skinner writes,

"Islam gained influence among the non-Muslims because Muslim-warriors, traders and craftsmen, and teachers - possessed resources which were highly valued by local peoples. The Muslim "strangers" utilized their resources in such a way as to acquire political titles, territory, wealth, social position, and marriage alliances with local notable families. Muslims performed economic, political, military and religious roles which benefited both the elite and commoner. Muslims brought wealth in the form of trade and provided jobs for local residents. The caravans required guards, porters and guides; and local merchants and rulers gained wealth through trade. Muslims also possessed military power in the form of caravan armies which might be loaned to a ruler for use in war. The kinship and economic ties of Muslims in the extended network system placed them in an excellent position to be used as ambassadors or as mediators between rulers. The use of Arabic was valued for both political and religious purposes. Written Arabic was used for communication and record keeping, while religious charms written in Arabic script were believed to provide the possessor with protection from injury, disease, or death and assured victory in war and success in economic pursuits. Muslim holy men were thought to have great magical powers which allowed them to predict and affect the future." <sup>1</sup>

In spite of all these activities, the spread of Islam in Sierra Leone was very slow even up to the late nineteenth century. In the north <sup>2</sup> for example, Laing informs us that the Kingdom of Sulima, although the King was Muslim, his subjects were "Pagan", and Falaba, founded in 1768, remained an opponent of Islam until the 1880's when it was <sup>3</sup> conquered by Samori. No Islamic theocratic state was ever set up

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1. David E. Skinner: "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)". Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. X, No. 3 (1976), pp. 501-2.
  2. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timannee ... p. 387.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 80.

among the Southern Temne; for the principal rulers, except the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mabanta, were never Muslims. Moreover, the regalia of all their crowns including those of the Fula Mansas, were not Muslims. They were either Ragbenle, or Ramena or Poro. The rest of the crowns - of the Alikalis of Port Loko and Koya, the Alimamys and Santigies, who were all sub-chiefs, were Muslim but<sup>1</sup> were never even been among the ceremonial chiefs.

A final assessment of the spread of Islam among the Southern Temne up to the end of the nineteenth century can be made. It is significant to note that the devastating wars of militant Islam did not reach the north in general, and the Temne Country in particular. In this regard, the north does not seem to be an exception in Sierra Leone. The main reason for this was that Islam was most strongly entrenched in the grassland countries inland, and Sierra Leone being in the tropical forest zone, the jihadist warriors who could only fight as cavaliers, could not penetrate the forests to fight. In addition to the thick forests Sierra Leone might also have been protected by the Futa Jalon Hills, Koinadugu and Kono mountain ranges, just as the peoples of the Windward Coast were protected from the invasion by the rulers of the vast empires in the interior (Ghana, Mali, and Songhai). The immediate consequence therefore, was that those who fled from these holy wars sought refuge in the non-war infested areas such as Sierra Leone. The north and Temneland thus had an increased number of Susu, Fula, Mandinka, Sangaras, Benas, etc. who included Muslims and non-Muslims as well. Thus although throughout the nineteenth century, Islam had widely spread in the

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 101.



north of Sierra Leone, it only had a superficial hold on the Temne, Trimingham and Fyfe believe this superficial spread of the religion can also be said of the whole of Sierra Leone.<sup>1</sup>

In such a situation it should be expected that the bulk of the people at the turn of the nineteenth century would still be 'animists' and such animist religions were mainly associated with their traditional societies. Islam therefore, up to the late nineteenth century, did not only have a superficial hold on the Temne people, but it was also to a large extent, only a religion of prestige and dignity among the principal men. In order to be successful in the government of their countries however, the rulers had to steer a middle course between Islam and animism. While Islam remained in the court, the rulers had to appeal to the traditional societies such as Ragbenle, Ramena, Poro, etc. for help and co-operation.<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup> In this way, both Islam and the traditional societies with animism were brought together in a common plane in the political situation, and were thus in the process of social integration. By the second decade of the twentieth century, Islam had had some serious influence on the people.

In the case of Christianity, several Missions made serious attempts to christianize the northern peoples including the Southern Temne, before the 1890's; but all their efforts proved abortive. The Missions concerned were the Catholics, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), the African Methodist Episcopal Mission (A.M.E.),

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1. J.S. Trimingham & C. Fyfe: "The Early Expansion of Islam in Sierra Leone ..." p. 35.

2. K.L. Little: "The Political Function of the Poro ..." p. 63.

3. V.R. Dorjahn: "The Organization and Function of the Ragbenle Society of the Temne ..." p. 158.

the United Brethren Mission (U.B.M.) later Evangelical United Brethren Church (E.U.B.), and the Soudan Mission.

In 1605, the Catholic Mission sent out a Portuguese Jesuit named Father Balthasar Barriera, to start Mission work in Sierra Leone. <sup>1</sup> Fyfe has noted that this priest did baptise some kings, (probably some of them were Temne). He ventured inland up the Scarcies River where the Portuguese were trading regularly, but failed to convert the Susu King of the Bena Country. This was due to the activities of a Muslim Intinerant who dissuaded the King and his people from accepting Christianity. The Father had to flee from that country without his mission achieving much. In the succeeding years however, some other Jesuit Missionaries made sporadic efforts to continue the work of Father Barriera. But the mission finally collapsed by the beginning of the eighteenth century, leaving only a tiny handful of followers, some of whom were pure Africans, while the others were Afro-Portuguese, Maforki traditions <sup>2</sup> strongly support this fact, revealing that a few of the descendants of these Afro-Portuguese could still be found scattered along the villages on the Port Loko Creek.

The futile efforts of the Catholic Mission were followed by the small efforts of the Protestant Missions from the Colony to preach to the Temne in the 1790's. This was motivated by the work of the London Missionary Society which became interested in Sierra

1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p.2-3.

2. Oral Traditions

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|---|-----------|
| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,    | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,         | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,        | 14.12.75. |
| Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,         | 31.12.75. |

Leone in the late eighteenth century. It was a non-sectarian group to sponsor Protestant missions.<sup>1</sup> In 1797, the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London branch of this association sent out eight missionaries to Freetown to be sent to the Fula Country, but were not sent to that country because of the local wars there. Zachary Macaulay, Governor of the Settlement, instead, distributed them in pairs in the neighbouring areas to the Colony. One of these pairs, Henderson and Campbell were sent to Rokon in the Masimra Country. In this town, they were well received by Ngombu Smart,<sup>2</sup> who had in fact, visited Macaulay in Freetown to invite missionary work.<sup>3</sup> But Henderson fell ill and returned home. Campbell who remained, his wife having died, abandoned missionary work and became a slave trader.<sup>4</sup>

In 1804, the C.M.S. Mission sent two German Missionaries to the Colony. They were Melchior Renner and Peter Hartwig.<sup>5</sup> While Renner remained in Freetown, Hartwig went to the Northern Rivers, where like Campbell,<sup>also</sup> abandoned his missionary work and turned slave trader. In 1806, three more missionaries were sent to Freetown by the C.M.S. These were the Revs. Leopold Butscher,<sup>6</sup> Gustavus Nylander, and Johann Prasse. Nylander went to the Bulom Shore and introduced the Church to the Temne there. But these missions failed to convert the northern peoples and after 1815, they

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 75.
  2. Zachary Macaulay: Journals ... under date 4.6.1797.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 75.
  4. Ibid, pp. 94-5.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Ibid.

concentrated their efforts within the Colony, converting the re-captives, until the 1830's when they founded the Temne Mission by new Missionaries, for Butscher died in 1817, and Renner in 1821.<sup>1</sup>

When, in the 1830's the C.M.S. revived,<sup>2</sup> it was felt necessary to continue Missionary work in the north, and this time, the Mission should try the Southern Temne Country.<sup>3</sup> In 1839, Missionaries were sent to Port Loko to request the Alikali (Fatima Brima Kamara), to allow them to start the Mission. Alikali Fatima Brima at this time, was on his bid to win the continued support of the Colony Government politically as well as commercially. He therefore, willingly granted these Missionaries, their request, although some of his leading subjects particularly the die-hard Muslim Sankohs, were not in favour, fearing that such peaceful penetration might, in future, lead to political aggression. They were however, persuaded, and in 1840, two Missionaries were sent to settle at Port Loko.<sup>4</sup> They were, the Revs. Christian Schlenker and Nathaniel Denton. They were joined by a linguist, William Cooper Thomson, a Scottish Teacher. But the C.M.S. never succeeded in Port Loko because the people in that area preferred Islam, a religion they had so long been used to. In addition, the people refused to embrace Christianity because of the bad examples of the Krio traders in Port Loko who were supposed to be Christians but who, as Fyfe has noted, were "selling spirits, and living with Temne women".<sup>5</sup> These practices were distasteful to the Temne who

1. Ibid, p. 153.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 214.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, pp. 253-4.

had imbibed Islam (a religion totally against the drinking of alcohol and sexual promiscuity), and were extremely jealous of their wives and daughters. The C.M.S. Mission was thus abandoned in 1851 in Port Loko, and a new station was opened at Magbele that same year, because that town was thought to be less Muslim in influence.<sup>1</sup>

Schleker however, personally made some successes in Port Loko. He learnt the Temne language, and studied the customs and traditions of the people. He lived with them and was their friend. His book on Temne studies has been considered "the first serious European work, except linguistics, on one of the peoples of the Sierra Leone hinter-land."<sup>2</sup> It contains Temne traditions and vocabularies, with an account of their beliefs and societies.

Like the mission at Port Loko, the one at Magbele also collapsed, ten years later.<sup>3</sup> But unlike the one at Port Loko which was due to Muslim influence, the decline of the Magbele Mission was due mainly to the local wars in the area. From the 1850's to the 1860's, there were trade wars raging in the Marampa and Masimra Countries. The Koya Chiefs who went to mediate in 1860 were insulted by the Magbele people, and so in their annoyance they joined the Yoni who were the raiders. The result of this coalition was that a party of Yoni Mabanta warriors with some Mende raided Magbele, plundering the traders' factories and the C.M.S. Mission which they mistakenly thought to be a store-house for arms kept by the traders to sell to the enemies.<sup>4</sup> During the assault, the C.M.S. Missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Wiltshire, who were Afro-West Indians, were

1. Ibid, p. 254.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 254.

3. Ibid, p. 298.

4. Ibid.



captured and carried away as slaves. When they were later rescued by some traders, they left Magbele with the consequent abandonment of the C.M.S. Mission in that town.

In British Koya, the C.M.S. had a station manned by the Rev. James Beale<sup>1</sup>, son of a former C.M.S. Missionary.<sup>2</sup> But while his father served only in villages around Freetown, the younger Beale worked in Temne Country as far as annexed and ceded Koya. But here again, the Mission did not thrive, and no serious notice of its existence was taken by the Upper Koya people.

In the 1870's, the C.M.S. authorities adopted a policy of gradual withdrawal from the Temne Country, and the small establishments at the Bulom Shore and Koya which were already almost void of membership, were handed over to the Native Pastorate, in 1875.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1890's, the C.M.S. Native Pastorate reverted to a new policy of "Shall we go forward movement",<sup>4</sup> and Krio agents were recruited in the Colony and sent to preach to the Temne, in 1894. One of the most outstanding of these was the Rev. Allen Elba, who started the Mission at Makump. Two Europeans started one at Rogbere in Maforki where they had three agents and about twenty Krios in the villages around. An additional European Missionary, Rev. Alvarez was sent to Sinkunia near Falaba, and the Rev. S. Cole to Kambia.<sup>5</sup> In 1897, they decided to open a Mission at Kasse but were turned

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 363.
  2. Ibid p. 234.
  3. Ibid p. 469.
  4. Ibid. p. 532.
  5. Ibid.

down by Bai Bureh, who was later to play a great role in the 1898 Hut Tax revolt.

<sup>1</sup>  
In 1887, the Huntingdon Church in Freetown affiliated itself to the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and an Afro-West Indian Pastor Dr. J.R. Frederick was sent to replenish them. It was this pastor that actually revived the Church through his powerful sermons and administrative ability.

<sup>2</sup>  
In 1890, he opened up new stations in Mange on the Little Scarcies and Magbele in Marampa Country.

<sup>3</sup>  
In the same year, 1890, the Soudan Missionary movement sent representatives from the United States to start a Mission in Sierra Leone. They opened the first Mission up-country in Tibadugu, south of Falaba, and the second at Robethel in the Marampa Country.<sup>4</sup> Their activities were not only religious, but also industrial and economic; for they planted rubber and made roads around the areas they established.

<sup>5</sup>  
In 1887, the United Brethren Church (U.B.C.) later known as the Evangelical United Brethren Church (E.U.B.), started Missionary work at Rotifunk in Bompeh Country, under the supervision of Sorie Kessebeh, the Loko leader in that area. This Mission was sponsored by the Women's Missionary Association of this Church in the United States. Although Rotifunk was in the Sherbro Country, this Missionary

1. Ibid p. 593.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Oral Traditions

Rev. W.B. Claye, E.U.B. Mission, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Ch. 25.3.76.

Rev. J.F. Tholley, E.U.B. Mission, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella

Ch. 25.3.76.

Rev. T.S. Bangura, E.U.B. Mission, Freetown,

30.3.76.

establishment became the centre of education (industrial and vocational) for the Southern Temne Countries as well, since both countries were next door neighbours. In 1898,<sup>1</sup> this Mission opened a station at Rokon in the Masimra Country, and at Makondu in Yoni Mabanta Country in 1900.<sup>2</sup> Both stations were started by the Rev. Thomas Hallowell, a Loko Pastor from Rotifunk. In Yoni, he was called 'Pa Daddy!'<sup>3</sup>

On the whole therefore, by the turn of the nineteenth century, six missions had operated among the Southern Temne, and their missionaries were quite active indeed. For instance, in the Chalmers Report, we are informed that in the 1898 Hut Tax War, the Rev. William Humphrey, Principal of Fourah Bay College and Secretary of the C.M.S. Mission in Sierra Leone, was killed by 'war boys' while he was out visiting his field workers around the Port Loko area.<sup>4</sup> Mr. R. Caldwell of the same Mission said in an interview that he had lived in the Rokel River area for nineteen months before the rising.<sup>5</sup> The Rev. E. Kingham, Superintendent of the American Mission informs us that his mission had established at the Rokel River area for eight years and that Pa Suba, Chief of Magbele in Marampa Country, was very helpful to them in erecting their mission houses.<sup>6</sup> In his

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 5, p.111.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa John Kamara-Cole, Makondu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.3.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Follah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.  
 Pa Kaprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.

4. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, p. 122. Chalmers to Colonial Office, May 2, 1899.

5. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, p. 139. Interview with Mr. Caldwell of the C.M.S. Mission in the Port Loko area.

6. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, p. 140. Evidence by Rev. Kingham, Superintendent of the American Mission.

evidence before Sir David Chalmers, the Rev. Allen Elba who had worked around the Port Loko area said that Bai Bureh was protecting the Missionaries during the rising.<sup>1</sup> Captain Sharpe, District Commissioner at Karene, also informs us that the 'war-boys' themselves<sup>2</sup> "did not attack a single mission station". It can thus be seen that by the close of the nineteenth century, the Protestant Missions made some success in the Southern Temne Country, although the failures may be considered to be more.

Both the Muslims and Christians organized schools in Southern Temne Country. But the failure of Christianity also meant the failure of Christian Education among the people in that area even up to the close of the nineteenth century. By comparison, the Temne preferred Muslim to Christian Education in Magbele, Rokelle, and all through Bullom Shore, W.T.G. Lawson informs us that many of the Chiefs and their people generally, <sup>did not</sup> like to send their children to school. He gives us the reasons for this lack of interest in Christian Education, and their preference for Muslim Education in the following extract:-

"In many cases, a small smattering makes them proud and stuck up, and does more harm than good. The boys learn to drink and the girls prostitution. The natives seem to derive more good from the Mohammedan training for their children than from the English. The child returns home, and is one of them, and sits and eats and drinks with them: whereas the one brought up in Sierra Leone either becomes proud or a drunkard, and is no good for them, or to the English ... boys brought up in the Mohammedan schools are sober ... those just emerging from the raw state of savagery find it better to send their children to be educated in the Mohammedan schools. Chiefs like their children to be able to read and write English: but for more comfort they prefer them to be educated in Mohammedan schools." 3

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1. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report, pp. 328-331. Evidence by Rev. Allen Elba of the C.M.S. Mission in the field.
  2. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report; Appendix II, p. 223, No. 3910 - Evidence by Captain Sharpe.
  3. P.P. 1899; Chalmers Report; Appendix II, p. 92, Nos. 1854-1856 - Evidence by W.T.G. Lawson.

Lawson's revelation gives a clearer and more balanced picture of the situation with reference to Muslim and Christian Education than ever thought of, for it vividly explains the reason why Christian Education could not thrive among the Southern Temne during the nineteenth century - a situation which was to continue to prevail up to the first three decades of the twentieth century.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, a very important 'stranger' arrived among the Southern Temne. This was Ngoko Kanu, later to be called Ngombu Smart. He was a slaver, produce trader, diviner, and later, a chief. His activities covered Bunce Island, Koya, Marampa and Masimra Countries. More details of his role in the Masimra politics are given in Chapter VI.

According to Koya and Masimra traditions,<sup>1</sup> Ngoko Kanu was a Loko man who originally came from Kalamgba in the Loko Country. He was called Ngoko because he was "as tough as the hide of a wild buffalo." His father, Kandeh Banga, was the Loko King of Kalamgba area. Ngoko left his country under very bitter circumstances. He, being a very huge and strong man, had beaten to death, a man with whose wife he had had an affair. He first settled at Minthomo in the Maforki Country, but fearing that he was still being pursued for the

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Kamiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	25.2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.3.76.



crime he had committed, came to the Lokomassama Country to find work from the European traders who had then established at a small settlement called Rolamgba, situated a little up the Sierra Leone River and opposite Bunce Island. The area also included Bunce Island itself. This settlement was founded by a Euro-African who was a powerful and influential trader and slaver,<sup>1</sup> whose name the Temne cannot now remember.

Rolamgba derived its name from being a meeting place for young men and women to make love; for in Temne, to make love is to 'Lamgba'. The second meaning attached to this word 'LAMGBA' is some 'young men' who work as domestics under some big men are called 'AN LAMGBA'. Some of these would enslave themselves to secure the protection of those big men whom they served. In such circumstances, one is left to conclude that Ngoko Kanu must have been a slave under the European traders. The reason for this conclusion is that, whether he was sold there for a crime he had committed, which was more likely to be the case, or that he only came there to enslave himself as a domestic in order to be protected, he was in fact, a slave.

Ijagbemi, using oral traditions, has given a different version of the circumstances which led to Ngoko's departure from his country.<sup>2</sup> According to his sources, Ngoko was a Palm-wine tapper, and one day when he went to tap palm-wine, he was accompanied by some of his brothers. As he was climbing the palm-tree, the sharp chisel used for tapping palm-wine fell from its sheath and fatally wounded one of

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.114.

2. E.A. Ijagbemi; A History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968), p. 46.

his brothers who was waiting for him at the foot of the palm-tree. Fearing his father's wrath, he fled from his home. On his way, he was captured by some slave raiders in Port Loko who sold him to the slave traders at Bunce Island.

Whatever may be the variation in the rendering of the oral traditions as to the circumstances which led to Ngoko's departure from his home, one fact remains undisputed - and that is, he had killed a man, and for that crime, he could be enslaved. This was the most appropriate punishment for such a crime, among the Temne and Loko. Zachary Macaulay for that matter, describes Ngoko Smart as "... had been a slave on Bunce Island. He is a native of Loko country which lies three days journey or more beyond Rokelle. He had been intended for the ship bound for the West Indies ..."<sup>1</sup>

Ngoko Kanu must have arrived at Rolamgba at about the late 1770's for in the 1780's he was already at Bunce Island which was then owned by British traders. When he arrived there in 1785, the island had passed to a Scottish firm of Messrs. John & Alexander Anderson;<sup>2</sup> so that throughout his stay at Bunce Island, he was definitely a slave under British slave traders on the island.

At Bunce Island, Ngoko Kanu proved himself so hardworking and trustworthy, that his masters, instead of selling him, used him as head over the other labourers.<sup>3</sup> It was because of his ability to work hard that he was described as 'smart man'. This descriptive adjective became converted into a cognomen 'Smart'. The word 'Smart' sounds British, which is another reference to his being associated

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1. Zachary Macaulay. Journals under date 3.6.1797.
  2. C. Fyfe. Letter dated 5.8.76.
  3. Oral Traditions as in Note 1, p. 114.

with the British traders at Bunce Island. From this time onward, he became known as Ngoko Smart. Zachary Macaulay says of him that he dropped his 'uncivilized' African name (Kanu) and adopted the surname of 'Smart', after he had acquired a good deal of European taste and manners,<sup>1</sup> including the ability to speak some form of English. At Bunce Island, he "raised himself by his fidelity to be perfectly on the footing of equality with the whole of Bunce Island."<sup>2</sup>

At Bunce Island, Ngoko also acquired much reputation. He was made headman over the other labourers, then promoted factor and advanced goods to buy slaves.<sup>3</sup> While on his slave buying expedition, he landed at Magbeni in Koya Country and was guest of Pa Nemgbana Farma who was then the regent of the country.<sup>4</sup> He made Magbeni his first headquarters in Koya from which he would transport his slaves to Bunce Island.

Many of the slaves Ngoko bought included his own Loko people. He did not however, send these Loko slaves to Bunce Island to be transported to the West Indies, but retained them for his own private army.<sup>5</sup> After a while, having discovered that Magbeni had become too small to provide adequate accommodation for his numerous followers,

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1. Zachary Macaulay. Journals, under date 1.11.1797.
  2. Zachary Macaulay. Journals, under date 28.7.1793.
  3. Zachary Macaulay. Journals, under date 3.6.1797.
  4. Oral Traditions

Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18.2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18.2.76.
  5. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... pp.65-6.

he requested Pa Nemgbana Farma to give him a place to build his own settlement. Nemgbana Farma granted him his request by sending him to the Bundukas at Foredugu.<sup>1</sup> The head of the Bundukas at that time was Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu who had settled at Foredugu since 1770.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately for Ngoko, it was this Momodu Bundu whom he had invited from the "Mandingo Country" into Koya Country<sup>3</sup> to make 'Sebe' (charms) for him. Momodu Bundu willingly gave him the land on the side of the Mabiri River just opposite Foredugu town itself. At this place, there had already been a small hamlet or village built by Pa Karemu Sesay, Pa Nemgbana Farma's hunter. Pa Karemu Sesay named his small village Ro-Maheri (place of leisure and relaxation) for Pa Nemgbana Farma and Pa Momodu Bundu would sometimes retire there to rest or relax. The name 'Maheri' later became corrupted as 'Mahera',<sup>4</sup> by which name it is known in the history of Koya Country. Within a period of two years, this village had become a large town, and Ngoko Smart and his followers had built many houses for their own accommodation.

Having stayed at Mahera for some years, Ngoko decided to move to another place. Koya and Masimra Loko traditions give it as a reason for his decision, that it was the injunction of his devil

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 114.
  2. E.A. Ijagbemi: The History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century. (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968), p. 48, n.2.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Oral Traditions - see Note 4, p. 117.



which they call 'AN YARRO' (Genie),<sup>1</sup> and believe that he was being aided in all his great works on earth by this 'AN YARRO'. But on a close study of the situation, it may be discovered that two reasons might have been responsible for his decision to move out of Mahera. In the first, he might have thought his growing power and popularity might some day arouse the apprehension of his masters at Bunce Island. In order to avoid confrontation, he might have thought it better therefore, to migrate further up the Rokel River to a point beyond their reach. Secondly, he might have thought it reasonable to move to areas of wars like the Masimra Country, where he would have better chances of getting more slaves.

Ngoko Smart's country to which he last migrated was Masimra. He and his numerous followers landed at a place covered by 'E KON' trees, just near a small hamlet or village which had been built there by Pa Oldgbiri Forna who had long settled there as a hunter and fisherman.<sup>2</sup> There, Ngoko and his followers began to fire the cannons which his masters had given him for protection against attacks, and which he had carried with him. Laing found some of these cannons at Rokon in 1822 and were fired to herald the arrival of 'Pa Combo' who was coming from Mahera to receive him, and also for his own (Laing) respect.<sup>3</sup> Some Masimra people heard the shots and went to report to Pa Ferra, the Regent of Masimra country, who was resident at Masimra Town. The firing was done probably to scare the wild animals or to

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.2.76.
Pa Alie Fofana, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.2.76.
Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.2.76.

2. Ibid.

3. A.G. Laing; Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries in Western Africa ... p. 32.



attract the landowners or both. Pa Ferra then sent Pa Komothi, a famous hunter and younger brother of Bai Simra Thonkasemgbu who had been killed during the war of the Ground-pig. Pa Komothi was to go and find out what was happening.<sup>1</sup> Seeing Pa Komothi approaching, Smart invited him into his camp, and then told him of his desire to settle in Masimra country together with all his followers, and to seek the approval of the principal ruler. Pa Komothi then led him to Pa Ferra at Masimra Town. With the general agreement of the leading citizens, Pa Ferra willingly accepted Smart and invited him to settle at Masimra Town.<sup>2</sup> But he emphasized his desire to settle at his place of landing near the Rokel River, probably, he feared a future clash between his followers and the inhabitants of Masimra Town. Further, he might have thought, and rightly so, that it would be more advantageous for him to be nearer the sea from the point of view of communication with the coast, Bunce Island, and Freetown. Pa Ferra conceded and handed him over to Pa Oldgbiri Forna who took him and lodged him at his small village among the 'ΣKON' trees on the Rokel River. This village was later named 'RO-KON' or 'Rokon', meaning, the place of the 'KON' trees.

Within a short time of Smart's arrival, the settlement at Rokon grew rapidly, for his followers were able to convert it to a large town. Writing in 1794, Thomas Winterbottom, the Colony Medical Officer, described this town as the "most considerable town I have seen hereabouts. Its one hundred or so houses were all very neatly

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 114.

2. Ibid.

built of bricks hardened in the sun and thatched." <sup>1</sup> According to Zachary Macaulay, Smart's adherent alone amounted to "several hundreds exclusive of his own family which consists of no less than thirty wives and eighty children alive." <sup>2</sup> These adherents must have included the Loko slaves he had bought and redeemed, and many more runaway slaves and voluntary settlers seeking refuge with him at Rokon. Within a short time, Smart had made himself independent of his masters at Bunce Island who now "stood in awe of him and scarce venture to press for the payment of the 150 slaves which he owned them." <sup>3</sup> Population-wise, Zachary Macaulay observed that Rokon alone contained "near 1,000 inhabitants". <sup>4</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Masimra Loko traditions recall that Ngoko Smart became so wealthy, influential and powerful at Rokon that even the citizens had to reckon with him in all matters of social, economic and political importance. This was not only because of his immense wealth and numerous followers, but because of how he used such gifts in furthering the interest of the Masimra Country. The greatest opportunity to use these gifts afforded itself when he was requested by the Regent Pa Ferra to help in rescuing the sacred things of the crown which had been captured by the Romende people during the war of the Ground-pig for which an interregnum had been caused in the Masimra Country. Ngoko Smart agreed to help after he had consulted

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1. Clarkson Papers, Vol. III Add. MS 41263. Letters from Thomas Winterbottom to John Clarkson; under date, March 15, 1794, (British Museum Library, London).
  2. Zachary Macaulay, Journals ... under date, 3.6.1797.
  3. Zachary Macaulay, Journals ... under date, 1.11.1797.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	25.2.76.
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.3.76.
Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.3.76.
Pa Alie Forana, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.3.76.

his Loko people, and also Pa Nemgbana Farma who had been his host at Magbeni in Koya Country and under whom some of his Loko followers were still living, at Mahera. He led the war and was victorious. As a reward, he was given Lower Masimra to settle with his many Loko followers, making Rokon his capital. Later, he was crowned sub-chief of the Bai Simra, adopting the Wonde as his chiefly society and changing his name to Ngombu Smart. Wonde is said to be a Mende Society and the name 'Ngombu' is Mende meaning 'fire'. In the Mende Wonde, the Ngombus are the leading officials and by adopting this name, he was trying to show that he was the head of both his people and his Wonde Society at Masimra.

Ngombu Smart's influence among the neighbouring chiefs seems quite immense. He was on good terms with Momodu Ali-Thabara Bundu of Foredugu in Koya, the Mori Man whom he had invited into that country from the "Mandingo Country" since 1770. Some of the Chiefs seemed to have depended upon him for maintaining their authority. For instance, the new Bai Farma I who succeeded Nemgbana Farma in Koya country in 1794 had to ask him for assistance to assert his authority over his subordinate sub-chief, King Tom. This was in 1798.

From the early years of the foundation of the Colony, the Smart family seemed to be well disposed towards it. Ngombu Smart visited the settlement on many occasions. On one of these occasions, he accompanied one Mr. Silley, one of the Company's officials, on his departure to Britain. While in Freetown he called on Zachary Macaulay.

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1. Zachary Macaulay: Journals, under date, 3.6.1797.

2. Zachary Macaulay: Journals, under date, 3.6.1797.

During the interview between them, Smart "expressed a strong wish<sup>1</sup> that the youth of his own place had a means of attaining knowledge". When he was informed of the stationing of two Missionaries, Henderson and Campbell, to Rokon, he enthusiastically welcomed the idea. The two Missionaries opened a school which was attended by twelve "native<sup>2</sup> children some of whom are tolerable proficient<sup>2</sup>". These Missionaries however, did not accomplish much. Henderson, although he had learned to speak Temne within a short time, fell ill and returned home. In the case of Campbell, he lost his wife a few months after arrival, and a year or two later abandoned his missionary work, married an African girl and turned slave-trader.<sup>3</sup> The Colony officials had such respect for Smart that he was one of the very few Africans whom<sup>4</sup> they accorded the "MR." title.

As Smart benefitted from the Colony economically and socially, so also the Colony seemed to have relied heavily on him.<sup>5</sup> According to Zachary Macaulay, befriending Smart was likely a means of bringing to fruition "our plans for civilization in this part of Africa". Macaulay further noticed that all important matters were directed to Smart as he possessed as much power as all the other Kings with their chiefs possessed, and was also a man of better understanding and juster views. When in 1801 and 1802 the Colony was at war with the Koya Temne, Smart sent his Loko war-men in aid of the former. This war ended with the defeat of the Koya Temne

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1. Zachary Macaulay: Journals, under date, 4.6.1797.
  2. Ibid.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 75.
  4. Zachary Macaulay: Journals, under date 4.6.1797.
  5. Ibid.

who were driven from the Colony. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Smart family had become well established among the Southern Temne of Koya, Marampa, and Masimra, and were well respected by the Colony authorities. He was thus, during that era, the most wealthy, the most respected, the most influential, and the most powerful man in the whole of the Rokel area in general, and in the Masimra Country, in particular.

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the whole of the Southern Temne Country existed only as a geographical entity without one single political or cultural unity. This situation can be accounted for by the presence of the various elements - Bulom, Loko, Baga, Susu, Mandinka, Fula, Sangara, Europeans, Krios, and Syrians.<sup>1</sup> During the course of the centuries, these different peoples succeeded in integrating into a community which could be described as Temne only because of the lingua franca among them, which was the Temne language, and which the Temne themselves managed to preserve as an aspect of their own culture. For the other aspects of culture such as the secret societies, religion, etc., the Temne did not seem to hold their own. Any of these aspects was only borrowed from the other peoples among and around them, and adapted to suit situations; so that whatever may be viewed as Temne culture can only be correctly regarded as a synthesis of cultures of these other peoples of Sierra Leone.

In the context of how the Southern Temne organized their governmental system up to the early 1890's, it is quite in place to

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1. An account of the Syrians is given in Chapter II.



consider the kingship as the central point in the whole kingdom. The Temne conception of power was that the king was a constitutional monarch whose royal power should be checked in recognized ways, and who should share his responsibilities among his ancillary chiefs ~~of~~ his principal men in the state, including the heads of all the secret societies and the leading warriors. These would however, refer the most crucial decisions to the king for his ruling. In this way, the people would take full part in the government of their country. But this neatly organized system of administration could only survive intact up to the early 1890's. That is, such an unquestionably well organized system of government of the Southern Temne kings was rudely dislocated during the second half of the 1890's by the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896 when all the Kings now became Chiefs and were subordinate rulers to the Queen of Britain who was represented by the Governor resident in Freetown, and the District Commissioners in the Protectorate. It was a serious blow to the sovereignty of the Chiefs, but it had to be the case; for the two systems of government could not exist together. That is, the government of the Chiefs and that of the British could not be operated at the same time. One must give way, and this should be the weaker, while the stronger should supersede. In this case, the government of the Chiefs was the weaker, while the new government of the British was evidently the stronger and in consequence, the latter had to dominate. The Southern Temne Chiefs could thus be seen in the succeeding decades, to change their tactics, so that rather than revolting, they gradually decided to declare for the British Government and to rule their chiefdoms as agents of the new British Colonial Administration in the Protectorate.

But the change of tactics did not in any way imply that all the Chiefs liked the British Government. On the contrary, most of them did not, since they felt that their sovereignty had been taken

away from them (more details in Chapter II). Moreover, although they had enjoyed some benefit from European commerce, they did not seem to be entirely in favour of Western civilization, for they felt it had come to disrupt their social and political order.

Up to the early decades of the twentieth century, the Southern Temne people still firmly believed that Western civilization had come to make their wives, daughters, sons and domestics, stubborn and uncontrollable, as revealed by their oral traditions collected all over Southern Temne Country. Among the Temne, every important occasion would be put into a song. In this way, such important events could always be remembered; and some of their songs therefore, provide us with valuable source material in constructing their history. Such songs could also be found in their secret societies. For example, the freedom brought to their children and other dependants by the advent of Western civilization was resented as an instrument of social and political dislocation, and was put in the following Temne Poro song:-<sup>1</sup>

SONG - IN TEMNE

Solo	- Konko-e, konko-e-e, Konko-e, Sə po din .
Chorus	- Konko-e, konko-e, Konko-e, konko-e-e!
Solo	- Konko-e, konko-e-e, Konko-e, sə po səthɔ.
Chorus	- Konko-e, konko-e Konko-e, konko-e-e!

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1. My personal knowledge of Temne traditions and culture. These sacred songs live with the society throughout the ages.

- Solo - Nanɛ ma ɔɣ Kominament ɔɣ po dere-e,  
Bomɣɔɣ tək tɛ chit mɔ tɔkɔ thanya.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e, konko-e-e!
- Solo - Nanɛ ma ɔɣ Kominament ɔɣ po dere-e,  
Wunibom ɔ tɛk chit mɔ ɔɣ yari u korre-e.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e, konko-e-e!
- Solo - Konko-e, konko-e-e  
Konko-e, s po dinɛ.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,
- Solo - Nɔm ɔ!
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e.
- Solo - Konko-e, konko-e-e,  
Konko-e, sɔ po sɔthɔ.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,
- Solo - Nɔm ɔ!
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e-e!
- Solo - Nanɛ ma ɔɣ Kominament ɔɣ po dere-e,  
An tarr an tək ɛlɛɣa mɔ tɛn u runi.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e, konko-e-e,
- Solo - Nan ma Kominament ɔɣ po dere-e,  
Feth a runi a fɛri bolo mɔgboro a runi.
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e
- Solo - Nɔmɔ!
- Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e-e,  
etc., etc., etc., etc.

Translation and versification -

NOTE - The word 'KONKO' in Temne literally means a very small and tight room. In this song, it means, the situation described has placed them in a very tight corner socially, politically and economically.

Solo - Konko-e, konko-e  
Konko-e, we are lost,

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e, konko-e,

Solo - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e we've had it.

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e  
Konko-e, konko-e-e.

Solo - Remember, since the Government came,  
Women raise their buttocks like chequered hens.

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e  
Konko-e, konko-e.

Solo - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e we've had it.

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,

Solo - Yes'

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e'

Solo - Remember since the Government came,  
The domestics raise their tails like male dogs.

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,

Solo - Yes'

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e'

Solo - Remember since the Government came,  
The boys swell up their throats like male cobras.

Chorus - Konko-e, konko-e,  
Konko-e, konko-e-e!  
etc., etc., etc., etc.

This is one of the most sacred songs of the Temne Poro Society and is sung only once at the initiation ceremony of a big Poro Society. It is sung only by the big Poro Officials (the Soko Banas). The music is provided by the beating of tortoise shells to produce a very solemn but regular rhythm. The group would emerge from the Poro bush just at sunset, and march round the town singing and dancing to the tune, while the women would sit at the verandahs of houses rhythmically clapping their hands and pointing them at regular intervals to the 'SOKO' men, until they finally return to the Poro bush. The tortoise shells are held very sacred in the Poro Society and beating them at this occasion would provoke serious thought. It is a song always very keenly listened to by everybody present at the ceremony.

What the song is trying to paint is the contrast between the 'Old' and the 'New'. The 'Old' is the pre-colonial era, when the Chiefs had complete control of their people and domestics; the husbands, their wives; and the parents, their sons and daughters. During this pre-colonial era, traditional authority was complete and supreme in itself, and was accepted and obeyed by all. The 'New' is the advent of European civilization which had dawned a new era that became more attractive to their domestics, women and youths. To these dependants, this new order of things had come to grant them the freedom they had never dreamt of enjoying under the authority of their people. But to the Chiefs and the other big men, this was no ordinary freedom, but a deflection on the part of their subordinates from their well established social and political order especially after 1896. They resented such a new situation and the song is therefore a serious lament over this dislocation caused by the British encroachment over the affairs of their country - and this forms the substance of the next Chapter.



CHAPTER IIBRITISH ENCROACHMENTS AND SOUTHERN TEMNE RESPONSESPART I

Of the various European nations who had visited Sierra-Leone from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, it was the presence of the British that made the greatest impact on the lives of the natives of the Southern Temne Country. All these Europeans were involved in trade of some sort but the British went a stage further - and a very important stage too - by acquiring a colony from the Southern Temne in 1788.<sup>1</sup> Although this Colony was chiefly meant to be a settlement for the "Black Poor", it in effect became, from the nineteenth century, the base of operation for the British in the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade, and the penetration of Christian ideals and the spreading of the 'blessings of industry and civilization' among the hinterland peoples. All these aims were geared towards the promotion of British commerce. But throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and even up to the 1860s official British attitude towards acquiring territories in West Africa was hesitant or lukewarm, or rather very cautious, and the Colonial Office only reluctantly approved of some of the annexations and cessions made during the period. In the Southern Temne Country in fact, the Koya territory ceded in 1861<sup>2</sup> had to be retroceded in 1872,<sup>3</sup>

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (1788-1855) VOL. II, p.265. Treaty No.I, August 22 1788.

2. Ibid. VOL.III, p.266. Treaty No.I, April 2, 1861.

3. Ibid. VOL.V, Treaty No.6, February 26, 1872.

and in Port Loko, the treaty of cession of 1825<sup>1</sup> was not ratified until 1893.<sup>2</sup> Marampa Country did not apply for British protection until 1893,<sup>3</sup> and Masimra and both Yonis never entered into negotiations for either annexation or cession of their territories.

This sort of aloof attitude which the British maintained often conveyed the impression that they were in actual fact, not at all interested in acquiring territories in Africa. This impression was not wholly correct, for their decision for territorial acquisition depended on their imperial commercial policy. That is, they would acquire territories whenever it was necessary without causing an unnecessary burden on the Colonial budget, and better still, when such acquisition would be in the best interest of their commercial activities. Before the 1870s therefore, they only considered it enough to acquire and maintain bases which would serve as strategic positions along the coast. Such bases would serve as focal points for the penetration of British trade and the radiation of British power and values into the interior. And this was in fact, the aim of the promoters of the Freetown Colony. The interior area which would thus be affected would necessarily become an informal sphere, later to be styled "British sphere of influence." Within such spheres of influence, British subjects would have complete freedom of movement, and competition from other European powers restricted. In West Africa, five such bases of operation were created. These

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1. Ibid. VOL. II, p.299. Treaty No.15, December 12, 1825.

2. PRO: C0267/402. Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 232, July 13, 1893.

3. PRO: C0267/403. Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 298, Spt. 17, 1893.

were, Freetown in Sierra Leone; St. Mary's Island and the mouth of the Gambia River, in the Gambia; the coastal area of the Gold Coast; the Island of Fernando Po; Lagos and the Niger Delta in Nigeria. In this 'civilizing mission' all the different elements - the British Administrators, traders, and missionaries would work in concert. Some of these footholds were acquired by annexation and others by cession. But this was mainly to collect revenue and not to assume political and administrative responsibilities since many of them were left uncontrolled politically. That is, only in some of these annexed or ceded territories that such responsibilities were assumed. In Sierra Leone, the territories embracing Bonthe, Robump and Maporto (present Hastings, Songo and Waterloo) are cases in point. In order to gain their cooperation, the natives would be induced by means of treaty obligations, stipends, gifts and presents, to maintain peace in order to protect British interests. Where such inducements would fail, coercion would be employed. But they would only stop at that, and would remain unenergetic in acquiring territories. This attitude was vividly illustrated by James Stephen, the Under-Secretary of State in a minute in 1840 at the Colonial Office that "If we could acquire the dominion of the whole of the continent, it would be but a worthless possession."<sup>1</sup>

Stephen's minute was an embodiment of the British Colonial policy at the time which also had some local significance. One important reason for the reluctance of the British to annex more land during this period was that the nineteenth century began a period of free trade during which British commerce dominated the world. It was therefore, considered a waste of money to maintain colonies or annex

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1. Quoted from C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone... P.217.

more territories since British trade was already flourishing in such areas. The British were however, quite ready to defend and promote their economy by conducting expeditions — Magregor Laird's (1832), the Niger (1841), and Baikie's (1854) are cases in point.<sup>1</sup>

The British War Office and the Navy were also against extension. The former were determined to make the army cheaper and yet more efficient by curtailing the small colonial garrisons distributed all over the world. In the case of the Navy, they totally disliked using their ships to support the colonial traders operating beyond the frontiers, or rescue colonial governors out of trouble, since it would be they who would incur the risk of sailing into pestilential estuaries and suffer calamities without any credit or reward.

The British traders and missionaries on the coast also wholly agreed to the non-extension policy.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the former they disliked their activities being permanently subjected to the British authorities which would involve them in paying heavy dues to maintain the administration. As for the Missionaries, they loathed government interference, as their guiding principle was to help the Africans help themselves through Christian conversion.

To the Governors in Freetown however, this attitude against extension was only a colonial policy. As chief administrators on the spot, they felt the policy should be modified to suit local conditions. But this might only be an excuse to suit their self-aggrandizement.

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1. M. Crowder: West Africa Under Colonial Rule... P.48.

2. Ibid. PP.48-9.



This was particularly the case with those who had been army officers such as Turner, Neil Campbell, Kennedy, Hill, Blackhall, Rowe, etc. They wanted wars to make a name for themselves by acquiring more territories and earning military glory.

Although up to 1896 there was no formal British rule in the interior, the Colony Government had gradually managed to infiltrate its influence among the natives. This was achieved through relations with the Muslims and their trade, settling of disputes and concluding treaties of friendship, peace, and protection, and conducting expeditions of punitive and friendly nature.

With the Muslims, it has been established that the Christian philanthropists who sponsored the Sierra Leone Company were more inclined to favour Islam than the animist religions of the Africans for they felt the former was understandable and could be a stepping-stone to their evangelizing activities. Wilberforce was said to have recommended to Governor Clerkson to mention to any Muslim they met "that we are not worshippers of images like the Roman Catholics."<sup>1</sup> The first instance of the friendly attitude of the Colony Government towards Islam was in 1794. In that year, James Watt and Matthew Winterbottom were sent to Timbo and Labi where they were warmly received by the Fula Chief who sent a deputation with them to Freetown to make negotiations for regular trade.<sup>2</sup> In 1795, James Watt and John Gray, the Company's accountant, travelled through the Caulker's

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1. J.S. Trimingham and C. Fyfe; "The Early Expansion of Islam in Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion. VOL.II 2 (1960) P.37.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone. p.57.



Country by way of the Kamaranka and Bompeh Rivers. The purpose of this journey was to visit the Muslim Mandinka Chief who had long been anxious to establish trade relations with the Colony.<sup>1</sup> In 1820, Dr. O'Beine,<sup>2</sup> an Army Surgeon was sent by MacCarthy to mediate in the war in the Northern Rivers which were impeding the trade. He travelled through Port Loko to open the trade route. In 1821, MacCarthy sent Lieutenant Gordon Laing<sup>3</sup> of the 2nd West Indian Regiment to the Melacourie and Scarcies areas to arrange a truce in the war which was still going on there. After he had succeeded in this mission, the following year, 1822, he was sent to Falaba in the Sulima Country. He travelled by boat through the Southern Temne Country as far as Rokon in Masimra, then by road through the Eastern Temne Country and Kuranko to Sulima. In the Sulima Country, he was warmly received by the inhabitants as the first European visitor in that area. Throughout these journeys he met Muslims especially the Susu, Fula, and Mandinka, and was very much impressed by their way of life and keen interest on trade.

By the 1870s this friendly relation between the Colony and the interior Muslims had been expanded when Muslim caravan traders were coming down regularly to Freetown. Fyfe records that a party of such caravans arrived early in 1879 from Segu; that the Sheriff of Morocco travelled through West Africa, spreading stories about Governor Rowe's kind reception.<sup>4</sup> This was all meant to boost the

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone. p.58.

2. Ibid., p.148.

3. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanne, Kooranko and Soolima Countries in Western Africa.

4. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone. p.414.

Colony's trade with the interior. When there were occasional accusations against the Muslims for alleged conspiracy to invade the Colony, Government was always cautious not to be violent against such people who regularly brought trade into the Colony. It should however, be noted that throughout the nineteenth century both the slave trade and the legitimate trade in produce were operated side by side. The Colony Government could not vigorously oppose the slave trade in the hinterland since the slaves were needed to produce and transport the produce needed to boost the legitimate trade, and the food supply for the Colony.

The introduction of the timber trade by John McCormack in 1816 and the groundnuts trade by Charles Heddle in the 1830s increased the profitability of legitimate trade, and the people's dependence on the commerce of the Colony. Timber was produced along the coast and groundnuts, mainly in the northern regions. In all these trades the natives were engaged as producers and middlemen.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there were large Krio populations along the sea and river coastal settlements, acting as middlemen between the European traders and the natives, and sometimes as agents and clerks of the Colonial Government and the big businessmen; but more importantly, as traders themselves. They were actively engaged in trade in the European manufactures and local produce particularly foodstuffs to supply Freetown. In terms of entrepreneurship, they were next to the Europeans or were working in collaboration with them. William Grant and S.B.A. Macfoy<sup>1</sup> are important examples of Krio

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.441.

businessmen. One of the intentions of the abolitionists in settling the Krios in Sierra Leone was that these native Africans would transmit this culture to their fellow native Africans yet untouched. The Krios themselves were reluctant to assume this role of primary 'civilizing' the interior peoples. Rather, they organized their own neo-European sub-culture which took its inspiration from England, hence they often looked outward towards Europe rather than towards the hinterland of Sierra Leone. In other words, they preferred asserting their cultural superiority, associating themselves with the 'white man' and keeping themselves aloof from any form of cultural contact with the natives of the hinterland. Nevertheless, they did bring in new ways and ideas wherever they went. By their presence also, they helped to usher in the British into the hinterland by inviting them to interfere in the local wars which might disrupt the Colony's trade. Because of their desire for the annexation of more land which might mean protecting their business interests, the Krios might even provoke wars or support one group against the other, and then turn round to invite the intervention of the Colony Government which would often react by sending punitive expeditions. Such was the case in Kambia in the 1850s. Such a conduct did not necessarily stop the local wars but even increase them to the detriment of the very trade they were engaged in protecting and advancing.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century and even up to the early 1890s, political relations between the Colony and the Temne in general, and the Southern Temne in particular, had been

conducted on what Denzer calls "along fairly amicable lines of near-equality and collaboration."<sup>1</sup> In other words, their political relationship was a partnership, with the Colony officials playing the role of the senior partner. The Chiefs had earlier relinquished their rights regarding foreign affairs to the Colony Government because only the latter that could contain such powerful enemies like the French and Samori. Nevertheless, the Chiefs were still sovereign within their own countries and had their own organizations to settle their own disputes within their territories as well as between territories. They however, had direct dealings with the Governor of Freetown through the Government Messenger and Interpreter, and later, through the Native Affairs Department.

In such relationships, the British were always engaged in mediating between disputants in the interior. But to them, such mediation was always a means to an end and that end was their economic and political interests. Hence the conclusion of many mediations was often the signing of treaties of cession, peace, friendship and protection. But sometimes, the signing of such treaties was not preceded by settling disputes, but only as a means of protecting the trade.

Matters of differences which affected British Subjects resident outside the Colony's jurisdiction and within the territories of the Chiefs, were settled by arbitration. The practice in this case was to hold meetings at important and convenient towns, between the Colony officials and the Chiefs at which meetings the decisions of

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1. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone-Bai Bureh..." in West African Resistance edited by Michael Crowder. (Hutchison of London, 1971) p.234.

the latter were always final. In the nineteenth century, these towns included Freetown in the Colony; Rothumba, Foredugu and Mahera in Koya; Magbele in Marampa; Rokel, Rokon, and Makontheh in Masimra. This method of settling disputes was however, not a new practice among the Southern Temne who had been using it for a very long time, even before the arrival of the British in their country. The big men of one country would request the assistance of those of other countries to help settle all difficult matters and to declare war or make peace. And as was natural and usual, their reward would be hospitality, payment in kind or slaves and even offering of their daughters in marriage. In the case of the British, they never asked for such rewards. They only demanded that the Chiefs should keep the roads clean, clear and safe, and to protect British Subjects and interests located in their territories. This was their reward; and it was hoped this would yield the peace needed for the promotion of the commercial activities of the Colony; so that the British demands were in effect quite reasonably high, for the Colony needed a stable economy in order to subsist. This subsistence of the Colony was quite necessary, for the Freetown harbour was of paramount importance to the British Government during their early years of Colonial expansion in the West coast of Africa.

Where peaceful negotiations would fail, the British would employ hostile expeditions to entrench their influence in the interior. Those hostile expeditions along the coast conducted only by means of gunboats were not totally effective as the natives would always spring out of their hide-outs to start fresh troubles. Overland expeditions



especially where there were no rivers, were much more effective. Among the Southern Temne, two such military expeditions were conducted before 1890. These were, the Koya Expedition of 1861 to aid the British subjects resident in Koya who were at war with their Koya overlords. This was concluded by the 1861 treaty ceding a portion of Koya Country to the British Crown. The second was the Yoni Expedition of 1887 to punish the Yoni for waging war on the Queen's land in Songo area in Koya. In spite of these operations, the Southern Temne and Colony Government were on the whole, in good friendly terms, and British authority did not alarm the Chiefs.

The European powers that were engaged in trade activities in West Africa between the 1830s and the 1860s were the English and the French. But this was a non-expansion period of French and British policy and as such, both would cooperate in certain areas in controlling local disturbances.<sup>1</sup> For instance in 1831 and 1855, French troops assisted the British in the Gambia; in 1861, twelve artillery men served as volunteers in the Badibu Campaign, and the French Naval Commander offered his services to Governor Hill in the Koya Campaign. When in 1866 and 1867 the French made treaties of protection in the northern rivers of Sierra Leone, the British did not protest. The basis of this cooperation, ~~was~~ as Hargreaves maintains, was "on the principle that civilized nations should assist each other on the coast."<sup>2</sup> But this cooperation only occurred when both faced local resistance, but it would not rule out the possibility of their opposing each other

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1. J.D. Hargreaves: Prelude to the Partition of West Africa, pp.107-110.

2. J.D. Hargreaves: Prelude to the Partition of West Africa, p.107.

when trade and political competition would be involved.

This economic and political situation in the interior was very much tied up with the economic situation of the Freetown Colony. Since its establishment in 1788,<sup>1</sup> this colony had always been in need of money to run its various services including the administration. Its land being too poor to produce enough crops to feed its population, it had to depend on the surrounding territories for much of its food supply. Added to this, the European manufacturers needed a wider market in the interior so that more imports such as timber, groundnuts, palm oil and kernels which benefitted the European merchants were produced mainly in the neighbourhood of the colony. In this trade, both the Europeans and Krios as entrepreneurs on the one hand, and the natives as producers and middle-men on the other, took part. The result was that while the economic and social life of the local populations was being enhanced and modernized, the financial position of the Colony was being improved.

But since the early part of the nineteenth century, there had always been a cleavage between the Colony administration and Krio leaders on the one hand, and the Colonial Authorities in London on the other, on this question of extending the Colony into the hinterland. That is, while the former were for annexation, the latter were definitely against. In this respect, the view of the natives whose land should be annexed can also be considered.

The view of Governor Turner on his annexation of Sherbro and Port Loko in 1825 illustrates the general argument of all the Colony

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.23.

Administrators - to stamp out the slave trade and its attendant wars in order to facilitate trade.<sup>1</sup>

"The annexation of the Territories is the simplest measure possible." Anticipating any objection on administrative cost, Turner inserted in his despatch to the Secretary of State "I make them govern themselves, and should any Chief become refractory, he is put down immediately by furnishing his rival with a few muskets and ammunition, the supply being exclusively in our hands."<sup>2</sup> In repudiating Turner's treaty however, Earl Bathurst expressed<sup>3</sup> his unwillingness to sanction any proceeding which might be found to interfere with the Rights of other Nations and His Majesty's consent to any arrangement which might be construed into a desire of territorial aggrandizement. He thus strongly stressed that the only connection between Great Britain and the natives should be that of amity and friendly intercourse.

This reluctance of the British Colonial Authorities for territorial expansion was slightly shaken in the 1860s. This was because of the French designs on the Sherbro region. The incidence of this was given by Thomas Stephen Caulker, ruler of the Kagboro Country. In 1861, this ruler realizing that the encroachment of the French in his country as far as Bendu was threatening his sovereignty, wrote to Governor Hill requesting British protection.

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1. PRO, CO267/71. Turner to Earl Bathurst: Despatch No.17, of January 22, 1826.
  2. Ibid.
  3. PRO, CO267/20, pp.293-4. Earl Bathurst to Gov. Turner: Despatch No.67 of 18 December, 1825.

In this move, he was joined by a number of Chiefs who now wished to cede their territories to the British, to keep the French out of Sherbroland.<sup>1</sup> Like previous Governors, Hill wanted annexation, and persuaded the Secretary of State to accept this offer. Although unwillingly, the Secretary of State accepted the cession, for he preferred it that way to French designs in the neighbourhood of the Sierra Leone. So that by the 1860s, some centres of Sherbroland became British Sherbro. The major areas however, remained under the absolute authority of the native rulers. But on the whole, British Colonial policy was still vigorously opposed to any form of territorial acquisition mainly on grounds of administrative cost. Sir George Barrow, Colonial Office Clerk, clearly illustrates this attitude in a minute to S.C. Fortescue, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial office on the question of the annexation of British Sherbro,

"... to rule over this happy land [British Sherbro], the Governor calls upon us (and justly) for managers with strong moral and physical constitutions and no mean legal acquirements; Barracks; Troops; Police; Customs officers, Surveyors, and the means of constant steam communication with the capital (Freetown). If we supply these things, they must be costly - if we refuse them, what have we gained by the enlargement of Territory? Unless to exercise power and do good, must not such extensions be rather a mockery and discredit?" 2

This policy of non-territorial aggrandisement was also one of the resolutions of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed

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1. PRO, CO267/170. Letter from Chief Thomas Stephen Caulker to Governor Hill dated Shangay, 24th January, 1861, enclosed in Hill's Despatch No.26, of February 2, 1861.
  2. PRO, CO267/277. Minute Barrow to Fortescue on the Minute of Hon. T.F. Elliot, Assistant Under-Secretary on Governor Blackhall Despatch No.18, of Feb. 16, 1863. Quoted in C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp.189-190.

in 1865 to investigate whether the West African settlements were worth keeping. In the relevant resolution, it was stated

"That all further assumption of territory or assumption of Government, or new treaties, offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives, the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably Sierra Leone. "That the policy of non-extension admits of no exception, as regards new settlements, but cannot amount to an absolute prohibition of measures which, in particular cases, may be necessary for the more efficient and economical administration of the settlements we already possess." 1

By adopting this resolution the House of Commons had in effect, only confirmed what had already been the British Colonial policy against territorial expansion in West Africa in general. That is, they should only retain and maintain their old settlements, such as the Freetown Colony and its immediate neighbourhood which they had acquired before the 1860s; and not annex more.

At the same time the British Government were sticking to their non-expansion policy, the Freetown Colony throughout the 1860s, was still faced with the serious problem of lack of money to run its services. To solve this problem they had to impose high tariffs on all imported goods. This policy had its advantage of bringing more money for the Colony. But on the other hand, it had its own setbacks - it drove away the trade which was the mainstay of the Colony's economy. Rather than pay the heavy duties, importers opened depots in the adjacent rivers where their goods could be landed direct for

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1. P.P. 1865 Vol.V, p.2 - "Report of the Select Committee on the State of the British Settlements in West Africa."



sale to the natives. Fyfe gives examples of Colony traders who opened up such depots - "Randle and Fisher leased Matakong from Isaac's estate. They, Verminck, William Grant (who also traded in the Melakori) and Thomas Bright, a large-scale spirit merchant of Aku parentage in East Street, had agents in the rivers flowing into Yawry Bay."<sup>1</sup> By opening these depots, these traders escaped the heavy duties and could therefore afford to sell their goods cheaper. This attracted the produce traders up country who were consequently diverted from Freetown to these new "factories" for these undutied and therefore cheaper goods, to the great disadvantage of the Freetown shopkeepers and brokers whose trade, prosperity, and very livelihood was seriously declining. Therefore, to bring back the trade which had thus been diverted from Freetown the safest measure was to extend the Colony's jurisdiction to embrace the newly set up depots. And this was the cry of the Krio traders.

Foremost of these Krio traders was Hon. William Grant, son of Ibo receptive parents, and a self-educated man. He became so enterprising that by the 1860s he had built a very flourishing business and became one of the leading Colony personalities for which he was in 1869 appointed member of the Legislative Council.<sup>2</sup> On his visit to London in 1874, he presented a letter to the Secretary of State arguing that the only remedy to the Colony's economic ills was the annexation of the adjoining hinterland to prevent the traders from escaping Customs duties, and thus increase the Colony's revenue. He also argued that such annexation would check the local wars which were hampering the trade, since the annexed areas would have to fall under the protection of the Colony Government. The Freetown Krio traders who had held such views since the 1860s, enthusiastically welcomed Grant's move.

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.401.

2. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.192.

Such local demands from Freetown greatly influenced the Colonial office to gradually change their mind. The result of this change was that, Earl Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, after the end of the Ashanti war in the early 1870s, "announced that Government did not propose to abandon its obligations in West Africa; in 1874 the French Government reopened negotiations for the exchange of the Gambia, dropped in 1870."<sup>1</sup> This clearly meant that the British Government was no longer prepared to abide by the resolutions of Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1865 to investigate the need for the retention of the West African Settlements. This change of policy was also a pointer to the fact that the British Government was beginning to envisage that they and the French would in the near future, partition West Africa.

But this change of attitude towards extending territorial jurisdiction was only gradual for the officials at the Colonial Office were still not willing to adopt a policy which might commit them to increase administrative responsibilities. Thus in the case of the annexation of Shenge, Herbert, Permanent Under-Secretary minuted that "... It will clearly be desirable to get possession of Shangai so far as to allow us to place customs officers in it and collect duties. We do not want to increase our responsibilities in other matters or to govern more than at present."<sup>2</sup> Following this, Meade, Assistant Under-Secretary minuted generally that "We have no desire to undertake

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.401.

2. PRO, CO267/328. Minute by R.G.W. Herbert, Permanent Under-Secretary on Governor Kortright's despatch No.111 of June 28, 1875 - Quoted in C. Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.193.

any increase of responsibility by extension of judicial or administrative functions but merely to obtain the right of placing customs officers and collecting duties..."<sup>1</sup> In the case of the northern parts up to the Scarries areas, it was proposed to suspend annexation until the negotiations with France were concluded. These proposals accepted by Earl Carnarvon, inaugurated the inglorious policy of the British Government of allowing the Colony to seek customs jurisdiction without accepting further administrative or political responsibilities to govern them. Consequently, the annexation of the coastal strip embracing British Koya, Ribi, Bompeh, Senehun, and Sherbro can be considered more of an economic rather than a political proposition, to the great advantage of the Colony. So that all the hostile expeditions were meant only to safeguard the economic interests of the Colony. For example, when in the Yoni Expedition, the Administration decided to inflict "a sharp and severe lesson on the Yonnies,"<sup>2</sup> they simply meant to protect the Colony's trade, and to prevent any other people from waging war on the Colony, or engage in any warfare which might disrupt the Colony's trade. The Sierra Leone Association - an organization of traders which also included all the leading Krios such as Samuel Lewis, a prominent Freetown lawyer and member of the Legislative Council - was advocating the annexation of the interior to the Colony,<sup>3</sup> because they were the beneficiaries of this Colony-interior trade. They therefore,

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1. PRO, C0267/328. Minute by R.H. Meade, Assistant Under-Secretary on Governor Kortright's letter of October 13, 1875- Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.193.
  2. RP.Yoni Expedition, op.cit. Despatch No.5, October 11, 1887.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.451-2.

vividly and indignantly expressed their bitter feelings towards the Yoni attack on these territories,

"That this meeting expresses its indignation at the unwarrantable insult received from the Yonnies, through their daring invasion of British territory, capturing, enslaving, and killing subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, Queen Victoria, and would earnestly urge the Home Government to give authority to His Excellency, Sir Samuel Rowe, K.C.M.G. to take immediate steps for the punishment of these lawless people with a view to the establishment of order and confidence in the disturbed districts, that thereby a repetition of such malicious and disastrous proceedings may be in the future prevented..." 1

It can thus be realised that the decision to punish the Yoni was not only a Government decision, but was also the strong opinion of the Krio business magnates and the Freetown businessmen, some of whom were also members of both the Legislative and Executive Councils, so that the trade of the Colony might continue to flourish. The idea of acquiring more territories therefore, began to interest the Colony authorities during this period of seeking customs jurisdiction. Such acquisition was not however, necessary in the Southern Temne Country as most of its coastal areas had already been under the Colony influence, anyway.

It is significant to note that the British who, up to the 1860s had not attempted any official policy of acquiring more Colonies should change their mind during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The reason can be found within Britain herself and in the international scene. At home, in Britain, the economy was changing for the worse. The 1870s began a period of economic depression in

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1. P.P. Yoni Expedition, op.cit. Despatch No.6; Enclosure 1, Feb. 1886.

contrast to the 1850s and 1860s when Britain was economically prosperous. In the latter period, the British commerce faced no serious competition. As their goods were sold everywhere, the British had no need to acquire colonies. But in the 1870s a change occurred when the great powers such as France, Germany, Holland and the United States of America, were becoming industrialized and were competing with Britain for markets. There was therefore, a great need for these powers to seek for lands for colonies where their goods could be purchased, foreign exports kept out and raw materials obtained. In West Africa, the competition between Britain and France was fierce. While the British still stuck to their old medium of exchange by barter, the French paid cash for produce which the local producers would prefer; and it appeared the French were going to monopolise all the trade. This Anglo-French commercial rivalry was very keen in the Melacourie area. In Freetown, the Government and traders began to fear that the French control of these northern areas might disrupt the caravan trade between the Niger and the Colony.

Samori's<sup>1</sup> designs in the north gave the colonists in Freetown much cause for concern. He rose to power in the 1870s and his army comprising professional soldiers called Sofas, excelled in cavalry engagements. By professing to be a devout Muslim, he used this religion to gain his recruits, most of whom were much motivated by the hopes of loot, booty, and slaves. During this period, slaves were still considered a marketable commodity in the Sudan; but in the European export markets, they were now substituted by vegetable produce. Slaves thus became a great need in West Africa to grow and harvest produce and to transport it to the Atlantic coast for the

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1. Samori was Mandinka ruler in the French sphere of influence (modern Guinea) in the late nineteenth century.



European markets and also to carry European manufactures into the hinterland. It should be noted that Samori himself was not against the slave trade, but in fact, he was himself, a slaver; for to him, slaves were an indispensable means of obtaining the equivalence of foreign exchange to purchase fire-arms to strengthen his position.

Samori seemed to be on friendly terms with the Colony because he did not want to block his supply of fire-arms. In 1879, he enthusiastically welcomed Sanako Madi's visit and sent a plenipotentiary to accompany him to Freetown. More than once, Samori rejected the French terms of friendship because he mistrusted them, and instead, he accepted those of the British. But the Colony Government fell out with him because they feared that if his army remained within the British sphere of influence, the French might move in to occupy it.

During this period of the 1880s, each of these nations occupied substantial spheres of influence in West Africa. But each nation feared that the other might spring from their spheres to dominate the rest. This was why they convened the Berlin Africa Conference to make rules for parcelling West Africa (which had already started) among the rival European Powers - although unfortunately for Liberia, she was not represented at the Conference.

The response of the Southern Temne to the presence of the British among them during the period could only be described as that of landlord/stranger relationship and collaboration. The oral traditions<sup>1</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions collected by me in Koya, Maforki, Masimry Marampa, Yoni Mabanta, and Yoni Mamella chiefdoms from December 1975 to May 1976.

collected throughout the Southern Temne Country, all assert that the English were the 'strangers' of the Temne, who were pleased to have them because of the trade they brought with them.. We hear the Koya Chiefs say, "Our best political friends have been the English Government, and our safety lies in being in friendly relation, offensive or defensive, with the English Government... the people of Sierra Leone [the Krios] are our strangers, and therefore, insignificant we may be, they are under our protection, and whatever injuries done against them are done against us."<sup>1</sup>

Except for the series of conflicts between the Colony and the Koya people arising mainly from the attempts by the Administration to extend the Colony area into Koya territory, these friendly relations continued and were strengthened by various treaties; and Southern Temne Country was virtually a British sphere of influence before the close of the 1870s, and continued to be so when the British attitude towards territorial acquisition changed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Between 1880 and 1900, the Southern Temne were seriously involved in confrontations with their 'strangers' - the British Colonial Government. But in one situation, while some would be against the British, some would be in favour; and others would be neutral. But in another conflict, they would change sides - for, and against the Government. The situations of these confrontations effectively cover two distinct periods, namely, 1880 - 1890 and 1896 - 1900. The

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1. P.P. 1887, Yoni Expedition Despatch No.27. Encl. No.2 (Romangay) Koya in Despatch, No.27, Hay to Holland; October 29, 1887.

activities of the Colonial Government vis-a-vis, the Southern Temne constitute an interesting study; and the ingredients of these activities can be noticed from the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Southern Temne during the struggles. The action of the British Colonial Government during these two periods to enhance their commercial interests and entrench colonialism among the Southern Temne can be considered as their occupation among them; and how the natives themselves at first reacted, and later utilized the new situation for their own political and economic advantage, constitute their response. It is during these periods that all the elements namely, the British Colonial Authorities, the missionaries, the coastal traders and the inhabitants of the Southern Temne Country, were involved in some economic and political dramas for their own personal or group's advantage.

The main feature of this era in the local affairs of the Southern Temne, was the military engagement into which the Colony Government entered against the Yoni people in the 1880s. The war which ensued is a landmark in the history of the Temne people who called it the 'War of the Potho' (literally - 'the White Man's War') because, it was brought by the White Men (the English, in this case); but the Government called it the 'Yoni Expedition' because it was aimed at crushing the military might of the Yoni whose wars with their neighbours were assuming dangerous proportions to the detriment of the trade of the Colony. This Yoni Expedition however, turned out to involve all the Southern and Eastern Temne Countries; the Sherbro Countries of Bompeh and Ribí; and all the Kpa Mende Countries as well. It is the total involvement of all these countries in the economic

and political perspective that this expedition should be considered. In other words, the study of the expedition is essentially a study of the economic and political history of the different peoples of these countries during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The issues involved can best be understood by a thorough examination of the background to the expedition itself.

During the nineteenth century and before 1896, commercial rivalries were common in many parts of the Sierra Leone Hinterland. The areas of the conflicts were primarily around the waterheads of navigable rivers where the inland peoples would bring their produce for sale to the Europeans as well as to the Colony traders and wealthy middlemen. These inland peoples would themselves, receive in turn, European manufactures which they would carry to their respective homes. The trade was conducted mainly by means of barter. The chiefs of these waterhead towns became rich from the duties and rents they received as landlords. This was how the rulers of Port Loko in Koya; Magbele in Marampa, Rokel, Rokon and Macontheh in Masimra on the Port Loko Creek; Foredugu and Mahera on the Rokel River became wealthy. The wealth brought them social influence and political power, and they competed with one another to control the trade of those areas. As trade increased the competition would be intensified, and conversely, abated whenever there was a decline in trade. Such competition would produce wars usually fought between aligning groups - that is, those without access to the trade versus those who monopolised the trade. For instance, land-locked Yoni would, for this purpose be joined by Malal, Mabang, the Kolifas, the Gbonkolenkens, the Konikes, and the Gbambalis, to gain access to the trade of the Rokel, Bompeh, Ribí, and



Bagru Rivers; but they would naturally collide with the alignments of Koya, Marampa and Masimra; Bompeh and Ribí and by the Kpa Mende confederacy in the south. One of the results of such conflicts was the rise of professional warriors, which was an outstanding characteristic of the political and economic situations of the Hinterland during this era. But the alignments were only for the purpose of driving out a group they might consider a common enemy who might seize their trading centres; for the rulers of such areas also had disputes generated by land ownership and petty jealousies; so that they too were never permanently united as one block for other purposes. They too would fight among themselves and would hire the services of professional warriors. In those wars which have been correctly described as "trade wars,"<sup>1</sup> the Yoni who had a large number of these professional warriors would fight to capture the trading centres. But as professional warriors, they would also be hired by some other people to fight for them. As professional warriors, they would not want to know the cause for which they were fighting, for they lived by the benefits accruing from warfare - such as plunder and military glory. In this way, they contributed to a great extent, to the chaos which prevailed in the southern Temne Country during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

These trade wars originated from the development of "legitimate commerce" among the Southern Temne. This is clearly paradoxical in that its protagonists wrongly believed that by the introduction and development of such "legitimate commerce," the slave trade and its

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1. C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone, p.122.



attendant wars would cease, and peace and tranquility would reign among the peoples of the Hinterland. Rather, the local wars became more rampant than ever before, being generated by the desire to get more slaves to produce and transport the commodities needed to boost the "legitimate commerce." Among those to be immediately affected were the middlemen along the coastal regions. Their society was disrupted by the extension of trade activities to many other peoples who would now prefer to take their produce direct to the trading centres along the river heads to sell to the Europeans and Krio traders. This was hateful to the coastal middlemen who, in consequence, would increase their hostilities against the Hinterland peoples. Further, the middlemen would rival one another for the control of the trade and such rivalry would sometimes intensify these trade wars.

In addition to the trade rivalries, there were also other causes of the wars. These were boundary disputes such as that between Koya and Masimra over the Rosolo Creek;<sup>1</sup> the ownership of lands and ponds; "woman palaver"; abuse of ones parents, personal injury to one, as when Pa Sella was avenging the personal injury done to him by Pa Keni Mahoi, Chief of Ribi.<sup>2</sup> The wronged party would often hire these professional warriors<sup>3</sup> to avenge for them. The professional warriors would gather their followers who would gain by plundering, or be

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1. Oral Traditions. Pa Alhaji Alimany Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76. Pa Alimany Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76. Pa Alimany Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 21.2.76. Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconthah, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.2.76.
  2. Oral Traditions. Pa Kappr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom 17.1.76; Pa Almanu Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.
  3. For list of the most notable professional warriors supplied by Oral Traditions see Appendix IV.

trained as professional warriors themselves. They would be fed by their employers who would also provide them with the necessary ammunition and gunpowder. They would fight for a reward; but if they won and the reward was not forthcoming, they would reward themselves by plundering indiscriminately, their employers and other people, during which outrages they would devastate towns and villages, and kill or enslave some of the people. The arms and ammunition were usually sold to the warriors or to their employers by the Europeans and Krio traders who would profit from such transactions. But this also meant taking sides in the wars, and thus helping to create more confusion. They would be happy if the wars brought them profit and if they were not plundered. But when their trade suffered, and their properties were in danger, they would urgently protest to the Colony, exaggerating the situation in the interior and requesting Government intervention.

For the warriors however, their aim was not to kill too many of their opponents, but to capture them; for the success of the war was never reckoned on the number killed but on how many captured as slaves. Those captured would be retained as domestics or be sold inland to the big men who would use them as a labour force.

As life was very insecure during this era, people took measures to protect or defend themselves. The main towns would be fortified by strongly built wooden fences or thick mud walls. People hardly ever travelled alone, but would move in armed bands. The tide-water centres were often the objects of attack as they were the most prosperous areas by reason of their being trading centres. This was the state of affairs that prevailed among the Southern Temne during

the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is thus difficult to absolve any set of people from blame for these wars. That is, the Chiefs, the inland producers, the middlemen, the traders, the professional warriors and their followers, were all responsible for generating these wars and their attendant economic and political instability.

The position of the Colony Government in this confusion can also be considered. The Government officials did not fully understand the situation in the interior as to why these wars were perpetually fought. To them, the wars were merely a demonstration of the savagery of the barbarous people concerned; that they were purely "slave raiding wars",<sup>1</sup> and that they were "tribal." They failed to take notice of the commercial nature of these wars and in fact, it was incorrect to describe these essentially trade wars as "tribal." They were fought mainly on a commercial basis and no cognisance of any tribal affiliation was taken; the other motives for these wars were only ancillary.

The Colony Government however, wished to share in this trade from the interior. One of their methods to achieve this aim was to set up areas of interest - "protectorates" or "districts," either by cession of annexation, or by making treaties of friendship and protection with the chiefs. In this process, part of Koya, Bompeh, Ribi, and Senehun became ceded or annexed territories and thus fell under the protection of Colony. Koya was ceded in 1861<sup>2</sup> after the

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1. This was the general belief held by succeeding Administrators.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.310.

British had defeated the inhabitants in war, and although it was retroceded in 1872,<sup>1</sup> it continued to remain as part of the "Queen's land." Thus an attack on these annexed and ceded territories was tantamount to attack on the Queen, and would be met by a sharp reaction from the Colony Government. The non-ceded Southern Temne Countries such as Upper Koya, Maforki, Marampa, Masimra, and the two Yonis had only signed treaties of friendship with the Government by which they were committed to keep the routes clear and safe. For their benefit, the Chiefs would receive stipends from the Government. The Yoni signed a treaty with the Government in 1857,<sup>2</sup> but up to 1898, their Chiefs never drew their stipends.<sup>3</sup> In such a situation, the Colony Government could not shoulder any imperial responsibilities for any wars fought beyond the areas which had not come under their jurisdiction. This meant the continued existence of conflicts in the interior without any military intervention from the Colony Government.

The relationship between the Colony on the one hand, and Bompeh, Ribí, and Senehun on the other, should be noted. Since the era of the Atlantic slave trade these countries had been important. In the eighteenth century, immigrants from other countries had become numerous in the region. These included Mende, Mandinka, Fula, and Loko from the interior, and the Southern Sherbro. The Mende swamped the area in their endeavour to move gradually towards the coast to get trade,

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1. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London 1856-1878). Vol.V. Treaty No.7 of February 26, 1872.
  2. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (1788-1863). Vol.II, p.429, Treaty No.67, of 1857.
  3. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report. Appendix I, p.120, No.2323. Evidence by Fula Mansa (Kafoim) August 17, 1898.



for they also enslaved others as well as being enslaved. In the case of the Mandinka, they entered this region through the Muslim Mandinka Chief who had become ruler there towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Loko gained a foothold in these regions through their leader, Sorie Kessebeh,<sup>1</sup> a famous professional warrior who had migrated to that area after he and his people had been defeated by the Temne in Masira in the 1840s. At Bompeh, he fought for the Caulkers for which he was rewarded a piece of land where he founded the town of Rotifunk.<sup>2</sup> He increased his influence by admitting a large number of Fula traders, over 200 it is said, into the area, and gave them a settlement called Makondowa,<sup>3</sup> later also called Fula Town,<sup>4</sup> after them. Such influence eventually earned him the envy and jealousy of his overlord, Chief Kanray Ba Caulker. The Southern Sherbro moved to the Bompeh area in the 1820s following their Chief Thomas Caulker because it was now a timber trading area since their former habitation, Plantain Islands, had lost their economic importance when the Atlantic slave trade ceased. Similarly, the other Caulker branch eventually moved to the mainland Shenge. By this time also, the Caulkers had already leased their other islands, the Banana Islands to the British Government for 250 bars per annum.<sup>5</sup>

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.221.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions. P.C.W.I, Caulker, Rotifunk, Bompeh Chiefdom, 10.1.76.  
Mrs. Pricilla Claye, Rotifunk, Bompeh Chiefdom, 10.1.76.  
Madam Emma Kessebeh-Manley, Rotifunk Bompeh Chiefdom, 10.1.76.

4. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.476. AND Oral Traditions  
See Note 3 above.

5. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.133.



The Caulkers of Bompeh had now become incapable of controlling their numerous strangers from these different areas. Consequently, they ceded in 1881, the Bompeh and Ribí Countries to the British by merely acknowledging Governor Turner's dubious treaty of 1825 which had been revived in 1879. In Senehun, the principal ruler, Madam Yoko was in fact, already a very good friend of the Colony Administration. Thus, by the second half of the 1880s, Lower Koya, Bompeh, Ribí, and Senehun were enjoying the protection of the Colony Government as the "Queen's lands."

The countries along the navigable rivers enjoyed this "legitimate trade," while those in the further interior had very little, or sometimes, no access to it. The Yoni were the Southern Temne who suffered most from this lack of access to the new trade. On all sides, they were prevented by their neighbours from gaining access to these trading centres. Their efforts in this regard having been thus repeatedly and systematically frustrated, they resorted to war. These wars began to be fought even before the nineteenth century and for nearly two decades from 1857, the Yoni fought several wars with the Masimra people to gain access into the Rokel River trade.<sup>1</sup> These wars drew in other people as well - the Koya and the Marampa people on the side of the Masimra people; and the Malal, Kolifas, Tane, the Konikes, the Gbambalis and the Gbonkolenkens on the side of the Yoni. The latter group believed that it would be only through a victory by the Yoni that they too would enjoy the Rokel River trade. By the latter part of the 1860s however, the forests along the Rokel

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1. E.A.Ijagbemi: A History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh 1968) p.253.

River had become completely denuded, and in fact, there was no more timber in Sierra Leone, and the groundnuts trade which replaced it had also declined in Sierra Leone because of the competition in this trade from the French traders in the north. The decline in the trade in these commodities ruined the importance of the Rokel as an important trading centre. The important commodity at that time was palm produce - palm oil and kernels. Palm oil was much more needed in Europe as a lubricant for machines and making of soap for washing; and kernels for the manufacture of margarine and explosives. As palm produce was by this time found mainly in the south, trade likewise shifted there making Bompeh, Ribí, and Sherbro areas very important trading centres. Since these areas had been annexed to the Colony in the 1870s, the new trade operated was thus given official protection by the British Government, so that the revenue of the Colony could materially be increased. Therefore, an attack on Bompeh, Ribí, Senehun and Sherbro during this period was not only an attack on the "Queen's land," but also an attack on the trade of the Colony. It was the series of attacks made by the Yoni to secure the trading posts in Koya, Bompeh, Ribí, and Senehun which were the "Queen's lands" that caused the antipathy of the British Government to launch an expedition against them in order that the trade of the Colony might prosper. This was the Yoni Expedition of 1887, which left an everlasting memory in the minds of many of the Temne people.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions collected by me throughout the Southern Temne Countries from December 1975 to May 1976.

PART II

The period between 1880 and 1896 was also full of arrangements by the British Government in preparation for the Protectorate — the events of the Berlin Africa Conference, the appointment of the Travelling Commissioners, the establishment of the Frontier Police, the organization of the Central Administration for controlling the affairs of the interior, and Governor Cardew's peregrinations in the hinterland.

The Berlin Africa Conference met from November 13, 1884 to February 26, 1885<sup>1</sup> and was attended by all the great European Powers, the Ottoman Empire, United States of America, and the International Association of Leopold of Belgium. The Conference was only to consider how to draw up the formalities for the effective occupation of the West African Coast. But the Act which resulted from the discussions became the basis for the occupation of any part of the continent. The part of the conclusion which affected West Africa was that which stipulated that any nation wanting to claim African lands should inform the other signatory powers in order to enable them, if need be, to make any claims of their own. However, in order to make such claims valid, they should be supported by effective occupation. Thus, the Conference only succeeded in confirming, by colonial agreement, the rights of the nations to stay in the areas they had already occupied. In the case of the Sudan and the Windward Coast, it was the British, the French and the Liberian Governments

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1. M. Crowder: West Africa under Colonial Rule, p.63.

that had already owned spheres of influence. In order to establish their claims, these nations had to demarcate their boundaries.

The appointment of Travelling Commissioners in 1890 by the British Government was an important step towards this demarcation process. The officers appointed were T.J. Alldridge and G.H. Garret and the Governor responsible for this appointment was J.S. Hay. While Alldridge travelled through Sherbro, Mende, Gallinas, Vai, Krim, Kono, and Kissi Countries, Garret went to the north beyond the Sulima Country. Not only did they sign treaties with the rulers, but sometimes, they would also hoist the British flag to claim sovereignty over certain areas - as Garret did in the Sangara and Sulima Countries. As far as the natives were concerned, such an act was fraudulent as they did not know what was happening. But the British had to abide by the terms of the Berlin Africa Conference if they were to retain their own spheres of influence. The action of Alldridge and Garret in indicating British occupation of the areas they visited, was therefore, justifiable in the eyes of the Great Powers involved in the process of the partition of West Africa. At the same time the Travelling Commissioners were active, Governor Hay was touring many parts of the coast from the Scarcies to the Mano Rivers.

The third move in this preparation for the British occupation of the Hinterland was the establishment of the Frontier Police in 1890 by Governor Hay. The functions of this Force were to keep the frontier line from being violated, ensure the free passage of strangers along the roads, suppress the slave trade, prevent the molestation of traders, and prevent internal wars. These duties had formerly



been performed by the Chiefs before the establishment of the Frontier Police. In addition, they were required to serve Government with reliable intelligence about the state of affairs in the interior. They were however, strictly warned against interfering with the Government of the Chiefs, and their social and cultural institutions, such as domestic slavery. But they never paid heed to these admonitions. Since they were scattered all over the country, it was difficult to supervise them by senior officers, and as such, they degenerated into tyranny and depredation. They would insult the Chiefs, ill-treat the natives by unlawfully arresting, flogging them, stealing and plundering their properties, and seducing their wives and daughters.<sup>1</sup>

The Chiefs often complained against them to the Governor through the Native Affairs Department and the Travelling Commissioners. On account of such behaviour, Parkes had recommended that their number be reduced and the remainder strictly disciplined for he feared that the presence of these "indiscreet and semi-civilized members of the community"<sup>2</sup> would seriously damage the influence of the Government in

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimany Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	14.12.76
Pa Alimany Fallah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	31.12.76
Pa Amara Thana Fallah Mahaya, Koya Chiefdom	31.12.76
Pa Sementigie Juray, Roncessa, Koya Chiefdom	3. 2.76
Pa Ghana Bia Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom	20.2.76
Pa Santigie Yananhay Bia Maghele, Marampea Chiefdom	22.2.76
Pa Roko Dawo M'Nes, Maumbah, Masimra Chiefdom	22.2.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom	18.4.76
Pa Kapprer Serra, Ronietta Yoni Mabemta Chiefdom	17.1.76
Pa Alimany Fullah, Ronietta Yoni Mabemta Chiefdom	17.1.76
Pa Abdulai Koroma, Yombana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom	3.4.76
Pa Kapprer Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban Y.M. Chiefdom	7.4.76

2. P.P. (189) VOL.LX Chalmers Report. Appendix IV, Memo from Secretary, Native Affairs, to Colonial Secretary, July 28 1893.



the interior. Throughout the interior the Chiefs and the Frontier Police were never ~~on~~ good terms. It was felt that the latter were former slaves recruited into the force in Freetown and sent to exercise control over their former masters who in this case, were the Chiefs.

All these moves were meant to prevent any foreign power from further surrounding and hemming the Colony. Therefore from 1890 onward, it became the policy of the British Government to establish an informal sphere of influence against French encroachment, which might eventually be converted into a formal protectorate.

Alldrige seems to believe that all these pre-1894 Colonial manoeuvres were crowned by the Durbar which he convened at Bandasuma in 1893. At this Durbar, Governor Fleming who succeeded Hay, met all the chiefs of the south-eastern countries who had entered into treaty negotiations with the British Government. He believed the Durbar would be the main instrument for conditioning the minds of the chiefs for the eventual acceptance of British rule in the Hinterland, and so, it must ~~be~~ thought, be introduced among the Temne Chiefs as well, which however, never took place. Alldrige however, exaggerated the importance of the Durbar, for the British would have proclaimed their rule over the Hinterland whether a Durbar was held or not. His exaggeration might have been motivated by his own self-aggrandizement as a worthy colonial officer and organizer of such a gigantic gathering of native rulers, who had contributed in no small measure, to the expansion of formal British influence into the Hinterland of Sierra Leone.

Within the Administration in Freetown, Government had been making certain appointments between the 1860s and 1890s, which might tie up their relationship with the interior and might be construed as partly (although not necessarily deliberately) to be a preparation for the future formal British rule over the Hinterland of Sierra Leone. In 1869, Governor Kennedy had sent Winwood Reade to Falaba to explore the source of the Niger. On his return, he recommended the creation of the "Office of the Interior which would control Government lodging-houses in Freetown, and whose officers would include the "inquisitor of Strangers" and an Arabic Writer."<sup>1</sup> In 1871, Kennedy appointed G.M. Macaulay, Assistant Inspector, as Protector of Strangers to look after the caravans in Freetown. That same year, Dr. Blyden was appointed "Agent of the Interior,"<sup>2</sup> and in 1873, Mohammed Sanusi was appointed Arabic Writer. In 1879, T.G. Lawson, Government Messenger and Interpreter, was appointed as head of the new department. In his office, he had separate records and clerks, and a very competent young man, J.C.E. Parkes, as his assistant.

Parkes had become Lawson's collaborator in 1884, from inside the Secretariat. When Lawson retired in 1888 the Aborigines Branch was separated from the Secretariat and renamed "Native Affairs Department and Parkes was appointed its superintendent in 1891;"<sup>3</sup> but it was still under the control of Governor Hay until 1892. It was while serving

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1. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Evolution of the Native Affairs Department - Sierra Leone Studies, N.S. No.3 (1954), p.173.

2. Ibid.

3. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Evolution of the Native Affairs Department." Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.3 (Dec.1954), p.177.

in this office that Parkes drew up a long memorandum on the way he felt the hinterland should be governed. This memorandum was forwarded to the Colonial Office with the blessing of the Executive Council. In the memorandum he advocated the formal establishment of a Protectorate. Among other things, he outlined in his memorandum that

"The administration was to consist simply of five "Political Agents or District Commissioners, whose duties in their respective districts would be as court of first instance to try cases of murder and robbery with violence; to prevent the passage of slave caravans, or the practice of inhuman native customs. "Visiting and directing the chiefs as to the clearance of roads and towns and the improvement of agriculture;" to help chiefs settle palavers, and to arbitrate in cases of debts. In addition, the Governor was to hold an annual "Durbar" of Chiefs at Freetown or some central point." 1

Colonial Office however, turned down Parkes' recommendations except those respecting the experimenting of the Durbar which was later done in 1893 by Governor Fleming, at Bandasuma, and later still in 1896, the naming of the five administrative districts. But no decision was made to establish a formal protectorate at that time, although the British officials in the Colony had already even in the mid-nineteenth century, begun to loosely apply the descriptive term "Protectorate" to the hinterland of Sierra Leone to distinguish it from the area of effective British rule - the Colony. The decision for the formal establishment of a British Protectorate had therefore, to await until the signing of the Anglo-French treaty of 1895, a document merely containing the details of their earlier treaties of 1882 and 1889, which roughly delimited their areas of influence.

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1. Ibid., p.180. Quoted from M.P. 4602/1892 by Parkes, Nov.18 1892.

Within the Southern Temne Country itself, the period 1890 - 1895 was a quiet and peaceful one. This was the period following the events of the Yoni Expedition of 1887 at the end of which defeated Yoni was reduced in size with some of its towns given to the neighbouring countries of Koya, Kongbora, Kori and Fakunya, and Bai Simra Kamal discredited for his country's support of the Yoni during the struggle. During this period, the Southern Temne were mainly engaged in reorganizing their internal politics and restoring their former good relations with the Colony Administration. On the part of the Administration, it was a period when they were to gain more familiar knowledge of the country, as part of their preparation process for their new colonial era which was to dawn in 1896.

By 1895, it became quite clear to both the British Officials in the Colony and at the Colonial Office that the establishment of the Protectorate had become a necessity. The first reason was that they had to validate their claim over their sphere of influence in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone by effectively occupying it to prevent the French or Liberian Government from taking possession of it. By the Anglo-French agreements of 1889 and 1891, the French had already regarded the territory in question as "British" and so, declaring it as a 'British Protectorate' would be quite in order, as Hamilton noted in a minute to Bramston (at the Colonial Office) that the "The establishment or declaration of a Protectorate is the logical sequence of their doctrine laid down in their letter of 5th August Foreign Office Letter<sup>7</sup> that the territory assigned to us under the arrangements of 1889 and 1891 is not a "sphere of influence" but "an integral part of a British Possession... for the maintenance of law and order within



the territory... the mere fact of declaring it under British protection should have a pacifying effect."<sup>1</sup>

The second reason was the suppression of the slave trade which was felt was impeding the legitimate trade in produce. But it should be noted that although the Abolition Act was passed in 1807 and the slave trade made illegal and suppressed, and the Sierra Leone estuary closed to the traffic, nevertheless, slavery was allowed to continue because it was feared that abolishing it would annoy the Chiefs and provoke rebellion which would disrupt the trade they intended to protect; for domestic slavery was still an important mainstay in the economy of the traditional elite whose patronage the British Government still needed to enforce their colonial rule. Domestic slavery was also at this time a very important factor in enhancing British commerce because slaves were needed for the production and transportation of the commodities to boost the 'legitimate trade' in produce. And so, domestic slavery was not abolished until 1928.<sup>2</sup>

The third factor was to protect the civilizing elements that were already operating in the interior. These were the British subjects and traders, and missionaries. For over a century, British subjects had been operating in the Hinterland as merchants. Their presence in the interior immensely helped to introduce western ways of living and thus promoted European trade. To give such civilising elements legal protection was therefore, necessary; but this could only be effectively done if the Hinterland were declared a British

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1. PRO. C0267/426. Minute - Hamilton to Bramston, 15.9.96.

2. John Grace: Domestic Slavery in West Africa, p.249.



Protectorate. In the case of the missionaries, they had been operating in many places in the interior since the early nineteenth century. The British Administrators considered missionary work as a 'civilizing' factor among the natives and thus a promotor of European trade. So that even in their endeavour to protect missionary enterprise, the primary desire of the British administrators was to protect trade. Cardew informs us he had "always found missionaries to be the best pioneers of civilization in every sense of the word, and they have always given their cooperation in the civilizing endeavours of the District Commissioners."<sup>1</sup> Supporting this view, Alldrige who was a "great admirer of missionary effort,"<sup>2</sup> believed that by encouraging commerce, "higher ends will be attained and the obstacles which encompassed missionary enterprise and retard civilization will be materially modified and more successful results obtained."<sup>3</sup> Kilson has noted that "Apart from the strategic requirements of the competition with France to partition West Africa, the British were concerned to obtain access to the exploitable resources, agricultural, material and human of the area"...<sup>4</sup> "This requirement of the market economy was quite apparent to the British administrators who established the Protectorate in 1896."<sup>5</sup> To the British administrators therefore, other factors for the establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate were of much significance but the economic factor should be given special consideration, as paramount. It was thus clear

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1. P.P. p.128. Cardew to Chamberlain, May 1 1899.

2. T.J. Allridge. The Sherbro and its Hinterland, pp.340-341.

3. Ibid.

4. Martin Kilson. Political Change in a West African State, p.14.

5. Ibid., p.15.

that most administrators saw as the chief economic motive, the need to extend the import trade and raise revenue on it by custom duty to pay for the administration. Establishing the Protectorate was therefore, the best solution under the circumstance.

The fourth motive which was also very important was to protect the Freetown harbour, which was a vital naval base. The position of Freetown as regards military defence had been very weak since the 1870s; and the Royal Commission appointed by Benjamin Disraeli under Carnarvon in 1879 to report on the general defence of the Empire discovered this weak defence position.<sup>1</sup> Disraeli though it fit to appoint this commission to know the true position of the defences of the Empire so that adequate preparations could be mounted against any attack by another European power, particularly Russia. In 1882, this committee was sent to investigate the position of Freetown and it gave this same sombre picture of the weakness of Freetown in the same proportion as when it was attacked by the French in 1794. The Sierra Leone Weekly News describes the importance of Freetown harbour with reference to the trade of the Colony, as

"The special advantages of the harbour, and the security afforded by British rule, render it vulnerable as a trading depot, and by water communication with adjacent districts, and by trade routes to the interior, along which caravans came from far on the way to Timbuctoo, thousands of natives annually visit it, and create a market for English manufactures not unworthy of consideration." 2

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1. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.438.

2. Sierra Leone Weekly News, VOL.XV, No.19, Jan.7 1899, p.2 (146).

Although this article was written in 1899, three years after the establishment of the Protectorate, the description ~~was~~ true as to the vital position in respect of its trade relations with the interior, even as far back as the early nineteenth century.

By this time, steamships had already replaced sailing ships, and to operate the former, coal was necessary to produce the needed steam. The British Admiralty therefore, maintained coal depots along the coast; but unfortunately all these depots, with the exception of the one in Freetown, were in foreign ports which were quite expensive to maintain and which might be seized by their custodians in the event of war. For the British, their only centre for naval strategy along the coast between Gibraltar and Cape Town was Freetown, and it must be defended in order to prevent the predictions of some British officials like Carnarvon, that "the French could still take Freetown any day they chose."<sup>1</sup> To provide it with sufficient defence measures, the establishment of the Protectorate became a matter of supreme necessity to prevent invasion not only from the sea but from the land as well. An attack on Freetown might even affect some areas of the Southern Temne Countries particularly Koya which bordered the Colony. The need to perform this defence exercise clearly arose in the mid-1890s and must squarely fall on the chief administrator at the time. In this case, it was Governor Frederic Cardew.

The task for the establishment of the Protectorate now fell upon Frederic Cardew who arrived in Sierra Leone in 1894 as Acting Governor, when Governor Fleming returned to England on ill-health. That same

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1. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.439.

year, he was appointed substantive Governor of Sierra Leone. Cardew was born in 1839. His military career covered his being a Regular Officer who had served in South Africa, China and on the North-west frontier. From 1890 to 1894, he had been Resident Commissioner in Zululand "a territory with recent traditions of powerful African institutions."<sup>1</sup> By the time he arrived in Sierra Leone he was already fifty-four. Yet, his "robust frame, unimpaired by smoking or drinking, was still equal to exertions in the bush."<sup>2</sup> His experience and physical make-up were an adequate preparation for the arduous task he was soon going to face. Shortly after his arrival, he conducted expeditions in order to familiarize himself with the affairs in the interior. The main aim of the first journey was to investigate the latest reports of the Sofa raids, and the areas he toured were a proof of this; for during his tour lasting about six weeks,<sup>3</sup> he went through the Mende Country to Panguma and the Sofa affected areas of Waiima in Konoland, and Falaba in Sulima or Yalunkaland; and returned to Freetown by the Scarcies River. In this tour, he was accompanied by Allridge and 400 men who acted as carriers of all his gifts such as cattle, sheep, goats and fowls.<sup>4</sup> In his second tour which covered 600 miles, and which he undertook in March 1895, he passed through Songo, Rotifunk, Bo, Segbwema and Kailahun. In the third which he made in 1896, "he followed the Rokel river as far as Benkia; thence across the Konike country to Tambi Kunde, the source of the Niger; along the Anglo-Liberian frontier to Kare-lahun

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1. J.D. Hargreaves. "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Pro..." p.60.

2. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.522.

3. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.522.

4. T.J. Allridge. The Sherbro and Its Hinterland, p.294.



through Luawa and Bombali Districts, Taiama, Bulama, Bandasuma, Banjuma, and Mafie to Bonthe."<sup>1</sup> These tours which covered over 2000 miles have been recorded to be the longest ever made by a Governor in Sierra Leone.

During his tours, he was profoundly moved by the pitiable situations in the hinterland as he observed the slave trade still being carried on in Kono and Kissy Countries by the Fula and Susu, who would carry their victims to the Northern Rivers, to serve as a labour force in the legitimate trade in produce. Moved by the sense of his mission, he endeavoured to free the slaves he met being collected for sale, much to the displeasure of the owners. Throughout these tours, he was also profoundly moved by the disturbed state of the country caused by the "destruction, depopulation, and economic stagnation caused especially in the Kono Country, by the Sofa raids." He therefore, became deeply convinced that the only way to remedy these ills was the immediate and speedy extension of Pax Britannica into the interior. This was his "urgent humanitarian duty."<sup>2</sup> It should however, be added that this 'humanitarian duty' of Cardew's was quite strongly backed by the British commercial and imperial considerations.

In June 9, 1894, immediately after his first tour, he sent a despatch to the Secretary of State<sup>3</sup> in which he attempted a general appreciation of the problems confronting him as Governor - viz, the generation of peace and order in the interior by the suppression of the internal slave trade and its petty wars; the settlement of the

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1. PRO; C0267/424. Despatch No.86 of 15th Feb. 1896. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  2. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate..", p.60.
  3. PRO; C0267/409. Cardew to Marquis of Ripon, Conf.45, June 9, 1894. Printed in African (Weat) 533.C.O., November 1897.



Anglo-French Boundary to be followed by a substantial increase in the number of the Frontier Police, at an annual cost of £7000; restriction on the importation of trade guns and powder; the development of communication by the construction of the railway, roads, bridges and ferries. The construction of the railway had long been under discussion, and Cardew now felt it was high time the proposals were implemented by Government.

Having collected all the information he needed, during his extensive tours of the hinterland, he took the first step in framing the Protectorate Ordinance, which consisted of framing a scheme<sup>1</sup> of administration and jurisdiction for the Protectorate. He recommended this scheme to the Under-Secretary of State on July 22, 1895. In taking these measures, he obtained his authority from a British Act of Parliament, which was the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, which consolidating earlier Acts, "empowered the Crown to exercise any jurisdiction claimed in a foreign country as if by right of cession or conquest."<sup>2</sup> After the boundary agreement had been signed between the British and the French Governments on January 21, and August 28, 1895, an Order-in-Council was passed declaring that the Crown had acquired jurisdiction in the countries adjoining the Colony, and empowered the Legislative Council to legislate for the Protectorate in the same way as the Colony.<sup>3</sup> This was followed by the passing of

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1. PRO; C0267/426. Cardew to Chamberlain. 257, September 16, 1896. AND Enclosure No.2, in Despatch No.257, dated September 16, 1896 - Report of Mr. Smyley, Attorney-General, on the Protectorate Ordinance.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.541.
  3. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.541.

the Protectorate Ordinance No.20 of 1896.<sup>1</sup>

It Should be understood that although these enactments were legal in themselves, both the Legislative and Executive Councils which enacted them were dominated by Europeans (British of course), appointed by the Governor himself. These men either represented the British Government or themselves as businessmen. They were thus not likely to be the sort of men to oppose any legislation that might be beneficial to the British Government; and of course, they would support it enthusiastically if it was in keeping with their commercial aspirations - even if it would not be to the best interest of the hinterland peoples. The Krio Members of the Councils were also in general, in favour of the Ordinance, although they differed on matters of details. For instance, Sir Samuel Lewis, in supporting the Ordinance praised Cardew for not wanting to introduce English Law at once into the Protectorate. He also pointed out that the educated professional people whom he described as "intelligent natives"<sup>2</sup> (the Krios), knew very little of the interior, for many Krio traders up-country did not penetrate far enough into the interior and that the Native Affairs Department (although entirely staffed by Africans) was located in Freetown. In short, they had very little practical knowledge of the interior. Lewis therefore, as reported by the Sierra Leone Weekly News, vociferously advocated in the Legislative Council the speedy establishment of the Protectorate -

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1. PRO. C0267/426. Cardew to Chamberlain. 257; September 16, 1896.

2. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.259.

"The nations of Europe... have divided up Africa among themselves and England has said, we come to reclaim Africa from barbarism. We call upon England to fulfil the promise in this respect. France and Germany have made similar declarations, and we call upon them to redeem this promise."<sup>1</sup>

And Cardew thanked him for his vote in supporting the passing of the Ordinance.

Cardew made no direct attempt to consult the rulers to allow them to give their views on the proposals he was making for their country. To him, they did not matter and he could do without them. Only his tours and various treaties, the expeditions, the cooperation of his headquarters and field officers, and the peaceful state of the country at that time, provided him with the evidence that he considered was enough. By this evidence, he thought the natives had already been conditioned to accepting the British colonial situation, and therefore the moment had now dawned when he should declare the hinterland into a Protectorate.

The Protectorate was proclaimed over the hinterland of Sierra Leone on August 31, 1896, although Cardew was on leave, and did not return until November 15.<sup>2</sup> This act was performed by Lieutenant-Colonel Arden Bayley, Officer Commanding the Troops on the West Coast of Africa, and who was also the Administrator of Sierra Leone Government at that time.<sup>3</sup> This was rendered legitimate by the

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1. Sierra Leone Weekly News Vol.XIV, No.18, Jan.1, 1896, p.2 (251).
  2. PRO. C0267/426. Cardew to Chamberlain, 257, September 16, 1896.
  3. C. Fyfe. Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp.261-2.

Colonial regulations in force at that time which stipulated that whenever the Governor was on leave, the Officer Commanding the Troops should administer the Government.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted not only that the Chiefs were not consulted, but that the proclamation itself was merely issued in the Colony and not in the Protectorate it established. This was indeed, an anomaly. It was only afterwards that the Chiefs were informed by a circular letter on October, 1896, by Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs. This circular was translated to the Chiefs by messengers who might not even be adequately educated to properly understand the English in which it was framed. In consequence therefore, there was the possibility of misinterpretations and embellishments. Many of the Chiefs did not receive the circular, nor even ever "heard it read, and had to rely on hearsay versions."<sup>2</sup> The Chiefs resented this attitude of the British Government, and their response to this attitude was a resistance which was climaxed by open rebellion in 1898.

When, after the proclamation of the Protectorate the Chiefs were informed by circulars from the Native Affairs Department, they began to convene secret meetings all over the country, to discuss what line of action they should adopt. Such meetings were in effect, the prelude to the resistance they later staged in the subsequent years (1897-1898). Among the Temne in the north - in the Karene District,<sup>3</sup> these secret meetings were held at Rogbalan and Kagbanthama in Kasseh, Bai Bureh's

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1. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.261.

2. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.552.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	4.12.75.
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	4.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	31.12.75.



Country; Magbanktha and Port Loko in the Maforki Chiefdom; and at Marampa Town and Magbele in Marampa Chiefdom. In Ronietta District, these meetings were held at Rothumba, Magbeni, Foredugu, Mathiri, Mathenefore, Mange, Mahera, and Fondu, all in Koya Chiefdom;<sup>1</sup> Masimra Town, Rokon, Rokel, Makonthe, Royema, and Mamaligie, all in Masimra Chiefdom;<sup>2</sup> Robari, Makondu, Ronietta, Mafokoya, and Petifu, all in Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom;<sup>3</sup> Yonibana Sarr Ferra, Mamaka, Maserie, Kendema and Fondu in Yoni Mamella Chiefdom.<sup>4</sup> Such meetings were also held at Malal, Mara, Tane, the Kolifas, the Gbonkolenkens, the Konikes, and the Gbambalis Chiefdoms, although these were not effectively organized.<sup>5</sup>

In the Karene District, the meetings were organized by the Chiefs through the Muslim itinerants, who declared a month of general fasting which was concluded by sacrifices of black cows to wipe out the

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Amkoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.3.76.
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom,	25.2.76.
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Alhaju Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23.2.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18.4.76.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Kaprrr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Matanta Chiefdom,	9.1.76.
Pa Kaprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76.

4. Oral Traditions

Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana Sarr Ferra, Yoni Mamella Ch.	19.4.76.
Pa John G. Sesay, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	6.4.76.
Pa Roke Kargbo, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	6.4.76.
Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbangban, Yoni Mamella Ch.	7.4.76.

5. Oral Traditions - See Notes 1-4 above.



disaster that the 'White Men' were planning to heap upon them.<sup>1</sup> Because of this appeal to Islam, Bai Bureh, the leader of the northern rebellion was able to gain support even from as far as the French borders, and this fact has also been corroborated by Denzer.<sup>2</sup> Oral traditions<sup>3</sup> collected from Koya, Maforki, and Marampa give it as a cause of the rising, the work of the 'Mori Men' who had been hired by the Chiefs, and stationed at strategic centres to inflame the whole country to rise in rebellion against the tax. Mana Kpaka believed<sup>4</sup> that the rising was inflamed by the Poro and Mori Magicians, narrating the episode of how a Mohamedan Alpha told him one morning that war would certainly take place in the country. Alldridge<sup>5</sup> and Cardew<sup>6</sup> also strongly believed that the whole rising was aggravated and inflamed by the magical workings of the Mori fetish men and that the people were compelled to take part by fetish swear medicine and by the Poro.

In Ronietta District, Islam also played an important role in planning the rebellion in respect of Koya and Masimra Chiefdoms.<sup>7</sup> But in Masimra in addition, and in the two Yonis in particular, the

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1. Oral Traditions - See Notes 1-4, p.179.
  2. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone-Bai Bureh - West African Resistance edited by M. Crowder (Hutchison of London 1971), p.248.
  3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.1.76.
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomeporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	7.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
  4. P.C. Mana Kpa, "Memoirs of the 1898 Rising.." Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.1 (Dec., 1953) p.39.
  5. T.J. Alldridge; The Sherbro and Its Hinterland, pp.304-7.
  6. PRO: C0267/440. Cardew to Chamberlain; 23.8.98.
  7. Oral Traditions - See Notes 1 - 4, p.179.

secret meetings were held in the Poro bush. But it appears that even the meetings conducted by the Muslims were so secret, that the Frontier Police never got a very clear idea of them, otherwise, they would have been reported to the authorities and the planned resistance would have been checked right from the beginning. The Government seemed to have been informed only of meetings alleged to have been convened by Bai Simra Kamal at Masimra Town, which was attended by Chiefs from Koya, Maforki, Marampa, Malal, and Yoni Mamella. This was probably the last of these series of secret meetings in an attempt to consolidate the efforts of all the Southern Temne for the contemplated resistance; and further, it was convened by Bai Simra Kamal because he was their 'official father.' But no consolidation of efforts ever took place among the Southern Temne for reasons to be given later in this chapter; while their contemporaries in the north were quite united under their general, Bai Bureh, Paramount Chief of Kasseh Chiefdom, who came to dominate the scene during the era.

According to Temne traditions,<sup>1</sup> Bai Bureh's first name which was also his warrior name, was KABALAI (Basket). Parkes and Cardew say that he was 'Timini';<sup>2</sup> although Hirst and Kamara assert that he was pure Loko, and Fyfe simply says he was "of Loko descent."<sup>3</sup> Abraham has however, recently discovered that he was only of part Loko descent,<sup>4</sup>

1. Oral Traditions - See Notes 1-4, p.179

2. P.R.O. CO267/418. Enl.No.1, in Desp. No.156, dated August 2, 1895. - List of Stipend Chiefs compiled by J.C.E. Parkes. Cardew to Chamberlain, 156, Aug.2, 1895. AND PRO, CO267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127, Feb.10, 1899 (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.432 & 501.

4. Arthur Abraham: "Bai Bureh, the British and the Hut Tax War" in The International Journal of African Studies Vol.VII, No.1 (1974) p.99.

and probably, of part Temne as well. These variants as to the origin of this great ~~man~~ are a pointer to the fact that by the late nineteenth century, there had already been much social and cultural integration among the northern peoples but that the Temne had dominated many other peoples particularly the Loko in the north. As Hirst has pointed out, after the war of 1825 - 1840 when they were utterly defeated by the Temne, the Loko "tended to speak Temne and call themselves Temne. Partly, they seem to have regarded this as a safer course partly, they thought it was superior to be Temne. In any case, the leading Temne settler would always be offered and accept a Loko wife from the indigenous people because he thus ensured his safety. There is little doubt that today the majority of the Temnes... have some Loko ancestry - either a mother, or a grandmother or a great-grandmother."<sup>1</sup> There thus prevailed among the northern peoples, a deep sense of social symbiosis as facilitated by cultural ties.

Bai Bureh could well be one of the people falling under Hirst's description, and in his own case, in addition to the prestige attached to being called a Temne, such an attitude would increase his following, for his war-men included large numbers of Temne as well. To have publicly proclaimed his Loko descent might have produced a contrary effect and as a leading warrior, it would be disadvantageous to him to be a sectionalist.

From his early days, Kabalai had been involved in fighting as an

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1. E.A. Hirst: "An Attempt at Reconstructing the History of the Loko people.." Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.9 (Dec. 1957), p.39.

apprentice warrior, until later when he became renowned in warfare. Kabalai was beloved and respected by his own Temne and Loko people of the north in general, and of Kasseh in particular. Kasseh was a very small country on the Scarcies or Robureh area, which became amalgamated in 1953 with the two smaller Chiefdoms of Bureh and Macontheh, with the new name of "Bureh Chiefdom".<sup>1</sup>

The date of Bai Bureh's installation is yet to be established. 'Bai Bureh' was the title of the Kings of Kasseh Kingdom before 1896.<sup>2</sup> When he was installed, he adopted his first warrior name of 'KABALAI' as his chiefly name, to distinguish him from the previous Bai Burehs who had ruled Kasseh before him.<sup>3</sup> He was thus styled 'BAI BUREH KABALAI', as in the case of the present Brima Sanda 'KABALAI' of Sanda Chiefdom.<sup>4</sup>

As Cardew has it, Bai Bureh was probably elected to the chiefship "for his prowess in arms,"<sup>5</sup> than by right of hereditary descent; and Morrison says he was elected for his military prowess,<sup>6</sup> for Kasseh being but a small country could not afford to have a weak ruler. Despite the size of the country, because of his ability as a military

1. The Provinces Handbook (Sierra Leone), 1969/70, p.21.

2. Oral Traditions - See Notes 2-7, p.39.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. PRP. C0267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127; Feb. 10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTA).

6. C.R. Morrison: Sierra Leone Weekly News, 27.1.1934.



strategist, he soon became far more prominent than most of his contemporaries;<sup>1</sup> for his war-men came from all over Temne, Limba,<sup>2</sup> Susu, and Loko territories.<sup>3</sup> Some of these war-men, as was the practice, went to Bai Bureh merely to learn the art of war and for booty. It was because of his military escapades that Bai Bureh became known to the Colony Administration, who were trying, though vainly, to maintain the peace of the area in order to facilitate trade; for by the early 1880s, more English traders had joined the Krios in the Melecure trade.

As a Stipendary Chief,<sup>4</sup> Bai Bureh was quite prepared to fulfil his treaty obligations with the Colony Government by helping to put down local wars which would disrupt the trade. For instance, on the request of Governor Hay, he helped to fight Karimu who was fighting the Limbas in that region. As the war could not be easily ended, Hay sent in 1891, the Travelling Commissioner Garret, to make peace between the warring chiefs. This peace meeting was held in the absence of Bai Bureh, who, when Garret later met him, showed his indignation at a peace decision without consulting him, and thus to declare his intention to continue the war. Believing that this

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.432 & 501. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone-Bai Bureh", p.246. PRO. CO267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127, Feb.10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.432.
  3. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone - Bai Bureh", p.248.
  4. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes: Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity (1887) - List of Stipendary Chiefs, Table on p.58.



attitude was in defiance of Government orders, Garret immediately arrested Bai Bureh.<sup>1</sup> The Chief who felt such an arrest was monstrous since he had been fighting on the side of the Government, escaped at Kagbanthama, while he was being taken to Freetown. But Garret had only a small force of Frontiers who never dared attempt a recapture in the presence of Bai Bureh's numerous followers. To the Government, this was a loss of prestige and from that time, Bai Bureh began to lose face with the Government, who now took him as a marked man. Nevertheless, Bai Bureh never showed any hostility to the Colony through his military escapades, and in the Tambi Expedition (the third) of 1892, he again helped the Government in defeating Karimu.<sup>2</sup> The Government however, continued to suspect him and by 1894, he had completely lost face with them. On account of such an attitude against him, he decided to remain aloof,<sup>3</sup> but this action only aggravated the situation, for the Government now suspected any of his moves as hostile to the Colony; and so decided to arrest him and "put a stop altogether to his warlike propensities."<sup>4</sup> By this planned arrest, Cardew might have also hoped to "recover the prestige lost through Bai Bureh's escape in 1892." For the second time, the Bai escaped into the bush but he sent "a polite but indignant letter

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1. PRO. CO 267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127. Feb. 10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.502.

3. Ibid., p.561.

4. PRO. CO267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127, Feb. 10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).

disclaiming hostility to the British."<sup>1</sup>

The fact of Bai Bureh's being the ally of the Government was also noted by Cardew pointing out that it was "strange to say that Bai Bureh played the role of an ally of the Government and furnished 'Friendlies' for the Tambi Expedition for which he was adequately rewarded."<sup>2</sup> But Cardew finally nailed his suspicion of Bai Bureh when he later submitted to the Secretary of State that "Bai Bureh continued to remain recalcitrant and would not acknowledge the authority of the Government..."<sup>3</sup> and a "chief who had persistently for many years defied the authority of the Government."<sup>4</sup> It is doubtless that Bai Bureh himself would not only remain aloof, but would resort to agitation against the activities of the Government in the Hinterland. It was this estrangement that effectively gathered the momentum for the resistance of Bai Bureh and his collaborators who included the Southern Temne Chiefs of Maforki and Koya, against the Government during the establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

For nearly four months after the proclamation of the Protectorate, the meetings of the Chiefs to plan the resistance were only held subterraneously, and the Government took the pacific situation as a sign of acquiescence. Even the few reports relayed to them about such meetings were not taken seriously. The first organized and open

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.522.

2. PRO. C0267/445, Cardew to Chamberlain, 127. Feb. 10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).

3. PRO.C0267/445. Cardew to Chamberlain, 127, Feb.10, 1899. (BAI BUREH'S ANTECEDENTS).

4. Ibid.

opposition to the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, came from the Temne Chiefs in the form of petitions. The first of these petitions dated December 17, 1896, was addressed to Captain Sharpe, District Commissioner of Karene District.<sup>1</sup> It was signed by six Chiefs, and two of these, Alikali (Moriba II) and Bai Forki (Fenka) of Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, were Southern Temne Chiefs. The sixth Chief was Bai Bureh. The second petition,<sup>2</sup> dated June 28, 1897, was addressed to the Administrator, J.E.W.S. Caulfield, and was signed by eleven Chiefs, seven of whom were Southern Temne Chiefs. These were, Nemgbana (Simor), Dick Wola (for Bai Kompa Bomboli) and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, all of Koya Chiefdom; and Alikali (Moriba II) of Port Loko. The third petition,<sup>3</sup> dated October 15, 1897, was addressed to "The Honourable Board of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Sierra Leone," and was signed by 24 Chiefs. Twelve of these Chiefs were from the Southern Temne Country. They were, Nemgbana (Simor), Dick Wola (for Bai Kompa Bomboli), and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, all of Koya Chiefdom; Bai Suba (An Bolt) of Magbele, Bai Koblo (An Gbemachi), Bai Polon of Mange, Alimamy Bashie of Magbele, all of Marampa Chiefdom; Alikali (Moriba II), Bai Forki (Fenka), Santigie Saley and Sumana Bali of Port Loko, all of Maforki Chiefdom. The fourth and final petition<sup>4</sup> of the Temne Chiefs dated 15th November, 1897, was

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1. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp.267-9.

2. PRO, CO267/434, Encl. in Despatch Sierra Leone, No.161, July 20, 1897 (Petition - Temne Chiefs), Cardew to Chamberlain, 161, July 20, 1897.

3. PRO, CO267/434, Encl. No.1, in Despatch No.49, Dec.8, 1897 (Petition - Temne Chiefs), Cardew to Chamberlain, 49, Dec.8, 1897.

4. PRO, CO267/434, Encl.No.3 in Desp. Sierra Leone, Conf.49, Dec.8 1897. (Petition - Temne Chiefs) Cardew to Chamberlain, 49, Dec.8, 1897.

addressed to Governor Cardew himself on his return to the Colony from England where he witnessed the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. These Chiefs had themselves been in Freetown to attend the local celebrations of the same Jubilee and had patiently awaited the return of the Governor. This petition was signed by 26 Chiefs and ten of these were Southern Temne Chiefs. They were, Bai Suba (An Bolt), Alimamy Bashie of Magbele, Santigie Sorie, all of Marampa Chiefdom; Bai Forki (Fenka), Deputy Alikali Bocharie Bamp, Bai M'Salmansa, Santigie Karrie, all of Maforki Chiefdom; Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu in Koya Chiefdom, and Kapprr Fallah of Masimra Chiefdom. It is significant to note that no Yoni Chief signed any of these petitions despite the fact that they were among the Southern Temne people, and the southmost for that matter. As a reason for this, it can be assumed that the cleavage between them and the rest of the Southern Temne had been deepened by the events of the Yoni Expedition of 1887, in which most of the Koya people had sided with the Administration to crush Yoni military power. But this was a pointer to the Administration that the Southern Temne were never united as a group even to fight a common cause which affected their sovereignty.

In all these petitions, the Temne Chiefs expressed their objections to the Protectorate Ordinance based on a number of points embodying their grievances which can also be considered as constituting the main causes of the rising they were later to stage in 1898 against the Hut Tax. In general, the Chiefs objected to the land clauses, judicial and trade regulations, abolition of the slave trade and domestic slavery, the house tax, their being fined,

flogged, deposed, and banished by the District Commissioners, and requested that the Government should consider their former treaties of friendship and protection with their fathers. The petitions portrayed the depth of grievance the Chiefs had over the Ordinance.

These grievances of the Chiefs were also summarized by Cardew himself in his despatch to the Secretary of State, four months after the outbreak of the rebellion. He also emphasized that these grievances were the main causes of the rising. In his view,

"...the true causes in my opinion... are the desire for independence and for a reversion to the old order of things, such as fetish customs and slave dealing and raiding. It is particularly a revolt of the Chiefs whose authority was also lessened and whose property has suffered through the abolition of slavery. They are sick of the supremacy of the white man as asserted by the District Commissioners and Frontier Police... They see the old order of things passing away; the fear and reverence paid to their fetish customs and superstitions diminishing, their authority going from them, their slaves asserting their independence, their children being taught by the missionaries, a purer religion and methods of civilization and, on top of it all, comes the tax which is the last straw that breaks the camel's back and hence the revolt." 1

Cardew was perfectly correct in the "desire for independence."

Although the Chiefs say in one of their petitions that "Your petitioners beg to premise by assuring Your Excellency that the proclamation of the Protectorate over their country is in full unison with their hearty desire ever to remain under the benign and Just Government of England,"<sup>2</sup> and their love for the British Government in comparison with other European powers,<sup>3</sup> yet this assurance should

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1. PRO, C0267/444. Cardew to Chamberlain, Conf. dated May 28, 1898.
  2. PRO, C0267/433. Encl. in Desp. Sierra Leone No.161, July 20, 1897. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  3. Ibid.



not be taken seriously. It is true that the Southern Temne had all along been virtually under the strong influence of the British; that besides their local quarrels over cessions in Koya up to the 1860s and the Yoni Expedition of 1887, there were no major confrontations between them, nevertheless this was merely a matter of living together as 'good friends.' They were therefore, now alarmed that the British should, at this time, want to treat them as subjects. This fact was clearly revealed in the language of their spokesman, Bai Suba An Bolt that "Our people did not sell the country; it was a friendship."<sup>1</sup> They would therefore, wish to be independent, and would not honestly wish to remain under British authority as presented by the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance. But since the British Government was now the supreme authority, the authority of the Chiefs could not dominate but had to be repugnant to the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance; and hence the Chiefs desire to regain their independence.

With reference to the fetish customs, slavery and the slave trade, Cardew seemed to echo the views of the missionaries since such practices were contrary to their preachings. But it is significant to note that the Protectorate Ordinance only stopped at prohibiting practices connected with human sacrifice, and did not interfere with the so-called 'fetish practices.' In fact, the general policy to be adopted by the British Government was non-interference in the local customs, traditions, and culture of the natives especially if such practices would not be a hinderance to their political and commercial aspirations. One then wonders why Cardew had to give as

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1. PRO, C0267/433. Encl. in Desp. No.161, July 20, 1897. Cardew to Chamberlain.

a cause of the rising, the peoples' desire to return to 'fetish' practices. This might only be a sarcasm against the so-called 'uncivilized peoples.'

The Temne Chiefs complained that "No more slave dealing of any kind to take place in their country."<sup>1</sup> The Protectorate Ordinance had declared "all dealing in slaves unlawful."<sup>2</sup> Cardew was, as would be expected, vehemently supported in this move by the missionaries who were against the existence of the institution of slavery. Many people who gave evidence before the Royal Commissioner said that the abolition of slavery was one of the causes of the rising. But it should be noted that the Protectorate Ordinance did not give additional facilities to slaves to leave their masters in that the provisions of Section 31 of the Ordinance for purchasing freedom seems a recognition of the institution of domestic slavery.<sup>3</sup> What was in fact abolished was the slave trade, and this took place in 1807 - but even at that, the Act of 1807 only suppressed the slave trade within the Colony, though over the next 90 years the Colonial Government tried to suppress it wherever possible, as when they would make it as one of their treaty obligations to the Chiefs to stop the slave trade in their countries. The reason for this was that before 1896, the Colonial Government had no authority to abolish the slave trade beyond their legal jurisdiction, such as the Colony and their annexed territories. Domestic slavery thus continued until the early twentieth century - and the Chiefs were wrong in this petition.

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1. PRO;CO267/433, Encl. in Desp. No. 161, July 20, 1897. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  2. PRO;CO267/432, Encl. in Desp. No. 90, April 30, 1897. Protectorate Ordinance No. 20 of 1896. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  3. P.P. 1899. Chalmers' Report, p. 53.

The Chiefs seriously objected to the authority given to the District Commissioners and Frontier Police.<sup>1</sup> Cardew did not controvert this point but confirmed it,<sup>2</sup> for he believed that the natives were "sick of the supremacy of the white man as asserted by the District Commissioners and Frontier Police."<sup>3</sup> Other groups, notably, the Sierra Leone Weekly News<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Blyden also put the blame for the insurrection on the conduct of the District Commissioners and the Frontier Police whom this journal described as "the arbitrary rulers of the aboriginal tribes," and accused them of abuse of power. Dr. Blyden also supported this view when he stated that the natives "allege serious arbitrariness of the young and inexperienced officials sent among them (the natives) called District Commissioners entrusted with power far beyond their capacity to wield with useful result."<sup>5</sup>

The Temne Chiefs also complained<sup>6</sup> of arbitrary treatment by the District Commissioners and the Frontier Police and in addition the latter whom they described as their former slaves, they accused them of extreme tyranny and seduction of their wives and daughters, and it was a "Woe to a nation when a servant is made ruler over them,"<sup>7</sup> and

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1. PRO;C0267/433. Enclosure in Despatch No.161, July 20, 1897. Petition-Temne Chiefs against the Protectorate Ordinance.
  2. PRO;C0267/444. Cardew to Chamberlain, May 28, 1899.
  3. Ibid. AND P.P., 1899. Chalmers Report, p.173.
  4. Sierra Leone Weekly News, Vol.LXV, No.31, April 12, 1898, p.(244)3.
  5. PRO;C0276/444. Blyden to Antrobus at the Colonial Office, July 28, 1898.
  6. PRO;C0267/433. Encl.in Desp., No.161, June 28, 1897-Petition, Temne Chiefs. PRO;C0267/434 Encl.No.1 in Desp.Conf.No.49, Dec.8, 1897, Cardew to Chamberlain.  
PRO;C0267/434 Encl.No.3, in Desp.Conf.No.49, Dec.8, 1897, Cardew to Chamberlain.
  7. P.C. Mama Kpaka "Memoirs of the 1898 Rising" - Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.1 (Dec. 1953) p.39.

the people rebelled to take such a "Yoke from their neck."<sup>1</sup>

Alldrige also agreed that the overbearingness of the Frontier Police was a contributory cause of the rising.<sup>2</sup> The Chiefs therefore, requested that the duties relating to the maintenance of law and order be restored to them.

Dwelling on this accusation of ill-treatment by the Frontier Police, Cardew pointed out that every case of misbehaviour by these officers was liable to be punished.<sup>3</sup> He blamed the Chiefs for not bringing to the notice of the Government the misconduct of the Police, stressing that in fact, it was they who made use of the Police for their own purposes. He however warned the Chiefs that "though the Police will be punished if they commit these acts of oppression, remember they wear the Queen's uniform and their authority must be respected."<sup>4</sup> Under such a situation, it would be difficult for the Chiefs to report any Police; for one thing, they would be unable to know which action would be disrespectful to the Police; and for another, reporting the Police might mean provoking more trouble for themselves.

But Cardew was certainly in favour of the vigilance of the Police as he later vigorously defended them to the Secretary of State,<sup>5</sup> that the Force were the agents in the suppression of the slave trade; that they were preventing the Chiefs from extorting their people especially on the bases of 'Woman Palaver'; and that they were checking the Krio traders from domineering the natives. He then extolled the gallantry of the Force in performing their duty especially during the rising. He therefore concluded that "disbanding the Force

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1. Ibid.

2. T.J. Allridge: The Sherbro and Its Hinterland, pp.304-7.

3. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report, p.586, Appendix II, Document XKIII - Text of Governors Address to Temne Chiefs.

4. Ibid. 5. P.P. 1899. VOL. LX Chalmers Report. Cardew to Colonial Office, May 1, 1899.

would be a hard measure and unmerited disgrace of a gallant and efficient Corps."<sup>1</sup> He further argued<sup>2</sup> that it would be unwise to leave the administration of the Protectorate to be carried out alone by the Chiefs, under the new colonial system, otherwise, they would resort to their former methods of ruling which were incompatible with colonial aspirations. Rather, he maintained, the Chiefs would be supervised by the Frontier Police who should be the eyes of the District Commissioners. In his view,<sup>3</sup> it would be a retrograde move for the Chiefs to continue to control affairs all by themselves for there would be no guarantee that the Chiefs would do better in civil matters as designed by the Colonial Authorities, than the Frontier Police. He therefore concluded that the Force should be retained to help the District Commissioners in supervising the Chiefs in the administration of their chiefdoms.

But Cardew's defence of the Frontier Police can be dismissed as insufficiently effective to disprove the charges of misconduct levelled against the Force. By advancing reasons for their brutality, he had in fact, indirectly admitted that they were repressive. From the time of the establishment of this Force in 1890, many complaints had been made against them as illustrated by the long list of convictions of the Corps included in the report of the enquiry.<sup>4</sup> The

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1. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report, p.92. Cardew to Colonial Office, May 1, 1899.

2. Ibid., p.125.

3. P.P. 1899, p.125. Cardew to the Colonial Office, May 1, 1899.

4. P.P., 1899, Chalmers Report, pp.563-65. List of convictions of Frontier Police for offences against natives of the Protectorate.



Chiefs' complaints against the conduct of the Frontier Police were therefore, justifiable, but in spite of this Chamberlain endorsed Cardew's view on grounds of administrative necessity. Cardew however, had a point in his plea for the retention of the Force, for in the new Protectorate, a Force of the sort was absolutely necessary to check certain acts which might be inimical to British Colonial administration. All that was needed was a reform of the Force for improved services, and this was the view held by the Colonial Office.<sup>1</sup>

As regards their punishment,<sup>2</sup> the Chiefs expressed their dread over the portion of the Ordinance which gave the District Commissioners the power to dethrone them and have them replaced by some other persons<sup>3</sup> who might have no legitimate claims to the crowns. The punishments of handcuffing, flogging, and imprisonment were very horrifying and disgraceful treatments, as they completely destroyed their dignity and prestige, and thus undermined their respect among their subjects.<sup>4</sup> Rather, they preferred the former method whereby they were given the privilege of appealing direct to the Governor through the Secretary for Native Affairs. They further strongly pleaded to be exempted from all these forms of punishment and disgraceful acts and be allowed "the full enjoyment of their country, their ancient manners and customs."<sup>5</sup>

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1. P.P. 1899 Vol.LX. Chalmers Report, p.164. Chamberlain to Officer Administering the Government of Sierra Leone. July 7, 1899.
  2. PRO;C0267/426. Petition, Temne Chiefs.
  3. P.P.1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report, p.588. Letter, 15th November, 1897 - Various Chiefs to Sir F. Cardew. Further Representation against the Protectorate Ordinance.
  4. Ibid.
  5. PRO;C0267/426. Encl. in Desp. No.161, July20, 1897, Petition-Temne Chiefs against the Protectorate Ordinance, June 28, 1897.

On the question of flogging, Cardew denied that this had been done publicly, and that only the Governor that could approve of such a punishment. Cardew was quite right in this reply, for Chamberlain had earlier directed that "the power of the Court to inflict corporal punishment should either be entirely repealed, or a provision should be introduced if you think this a better course, by which the infliction of the punishment is postponed until the sentence has been confirmed by the Governor."<sup>1</sup> Cardew adopted the latter alternative. For instance, the sentence of 36 lashes which Moore, Acting District Commissioner of Ronietta District, on the accusation of Charles Smart of Mahera, passed on Pa Nemgbana Simor of Koya Chiefdom, was never administered because it was not approved by the Governor.<sup>2</sup>

The land and judicial regulations caused great alarm and consternation among the Chiefs as these attacked the very foundation of their sovereignty. With regard to the land question,<sup>3</sup> the Chiefs stated that their country was no longer theirs, but now belonged to the Queen; that they had no more power over their land and property and even the waste lands and minerals now belonged to the Government; and that they were no longer allowed to settle even land disputes among their subjects.

Examining the land question from the Government's point of view, the Chiefs were incorrect as their fears and allegations were based on

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1. PRO;C0267/426. Chamberlain to Cardew, 90, 15.1.97.

2. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.558.

3. PRO;C0267/426. Petition - Temne Chiefs, Nov.20, 1897.

a total misconception of Cardew's actual intentions. He had no intention to deprive them of their land. He felt the land clause was meant to protect them from concession hunters who had already begun to penetrate into the Protectorate.<sup>1</sup>

The Chiefs were also greatly alarmed by the judicial regulations. The Protectorate Ordinance of 1896 had established three courts - namely, the Court of the Native Chiefs; the Court of the Native Chiefs and the District Commissioner otherwise known as the Mixed Court; and the Court of the District Commissioner alone. The Court of the Native Chiefs should try civil cases such as debts and other minor matters arising within their chiefdoms. They were not to order anybody to be killed, or cut, or wounded, and the Governor would hold responsible any Chief contravening this regulation. The Chiefs would be entitled to the fines and fees imposed in this court. Appeals from this Court should go to the District Commissioner.

The Mixed Court would comprise the District Commissioner and the Native Chiefs sitting as Assessors and "the latter will be appointed by the Governor for the purpose and specially selected for their influence, superior intelligence and ability."<sup>2</sup> In this Court, the District Commissioner would preside. This Court should deal with certain offences such as cases of murder, slave dealing, cannibalism, Leopard and Alligator Societies. Cardew's intention in establishing this Court was,<sup>3</sup> that the Chiefs would be in a position of

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1. PRO;C0267/431. Enclosures in Despatch No.5, January 7, 1897, Cardew to Chamberlain.  
 Enclosure No.4 - Concession - Bey Jippo & others to Harris, 16.12.90.  
 Enclosure No.3 - Concession - Canray Younger & Others to Harris, 20.1.91.  
 Enclosure No.2 - Concession - Bey Sammah & others to F.W.Dove, 23.2.91.  
 Enclosure No.1 - Concession - Farra Patta & others to F.W. Dove, 5.6.96.
  2. PRO;C0267/426. Encl.No.3 in Desp.5, Leone, No.257, Sept.16, 1896. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  3. Ibid.

considerable authority and importance in exercising jurisdiction, and to advise the District Commissioners on native affairs generally. In defending the necessity for this Court, Cardew told the Legislative Council that it was not a novel tribunal, as similar Courts had existed in Zululand in 1884 over which he had presided, and also in British Central Africa under the administration of Sir Herry Johnston.

The Court of the District Commission had the sole jurisdiction over cases of pretended Witchcraft, murder, rape, slave raiding and dealing in slave, factious or 'tribal' fights, all matters originating in Poro laws or customs, or any native rites or customs or land disputes, or matters of urgent nature to maintain law and order. The District Commissioner would also deal with all cases between natives and non-natives (Europeans and Krios), for Cardew felt that matters affecting these peoples should not be left in the hands of "savages."<sup>1</sup>

In all these arrangements, lawyers would be allowed to plead only in any of the Courts in cases involving punishment by death, without leave from the District Commissioner; and in no Court would women be sentenced to flogging. All appeals from the first and second courts should be made to the District Commissioner.

The Chiefs took strong exceptions to all these judicial regulations. To them, this was nothing less than prohibitions, and meant their total loss of power of political sanction over their own country, and source of revenue. Bai Suba (An Bolt) is reported to have said, "the King of the country however small, if he cannot settle small matters, is no longer King."<sup>2</sup> Further, they detested being

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report. Cardew to Chamberlain, May 1, 1899.

2. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX, P.354. Chalmers Report. Evidence by Pa Suba.

judged by English law, and as Fyfe has rightly stated, the Chiefs "felt degraded at having to share their jurisdiction with a District Commissioner who had the power to punish them, in courts where their own subjects could have them brought to trial."<sup>1</sup> The clause which forbade the sentence of women to flogging they interpreted to mean, no more power over their wives and daughters.

In reply to all their grievances, Cardew plainly implied that the Chiefs no longer had absolute control of anything all by themselves for they had now been brought under the authority of the Queen, who now governed, and that they could now settle only civil cases and lesser criminal cases without appeal, and land disputes within their chiefdoms. This curt reply doubtless further offended the Chiefs. But it should be accepted as right, that if the new authority should be established, that of the Chiefs should at least, be reduced especially under the new judicial system.

Cardew dismissed the Chiefs' complaint that they had been prohibited from settling land questions, as without foundation; that the law would be altered so as to give them jurisdiction to settle disputes within their own chiefdoms, and that the District Commissioners would only settle land disputes between chiefdoms to avoid open conflicts. This reply of Cardew's is true, as the land clause was repealed even before they made their petitions. The economic motives for the Chiefs' objection to the judicial system could be considered as very strong. This is revealed by themselves in one of their petitions that their "revenue as crowned Chiefs of the Country came

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.553.



from fines and forfeitures of our Courts. It is hard Sir, to see all go to the Interpreters and Policemen (very little going to the District Commissioners), some of them becoming rich therefrom."<sup>1</sup> It should be recalled that court fees, fines and forfeitures formed part of the revenue of the Chiefs. The new judicial regulations seriously curtailed this source of revenue with the corresponding loss of social and political influence and power; and hence their opposition to them.

The Chiefs' plea to be left to manage their own affairs in their countries was firmly rejected by Cardew, stressing that the Government could not do that.<sup>2</sup>

Another objection of the Chiefs which they put in the form of a plea concerned the retention of their ancient privilege of appealing direct to the Governor through the Colonial Secretary. Cardew totally refused to entertain this request on grounds of administrative procedure, adding that the Governor's ears would be open to any complaints the Chiefs might have provided they made them through the District Commissioners as heads of their Districts, and that such Complaints were not frivolous or factious but genuine.

This dialogue between Cardew and the Chiefs on this point clearly emphasized two important historical facts. In the first, it showed that the Temne Chiefs had already recognized the authority of the Governor of the Colony even before the declaration of the Protectorate;

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1. P.P. 1899. Vol.LX. Chalmers Report, p.588. Letter Nov.19, 1897 - Various Chiefs to Cardew.
  2. P.P. 1899. Vol.LX. Chalmers Report, p.586, Appendix II, Document III, Text of Governors Address to Timini Chiefs.

otherwise, they would not have preferred such an 'ancient privilege.' However, this privilege which was based only on moral suasion had now become obsolescent in terms of the instrument of the new administration in which the Chiefs should not be persuaded, but forced to accept what was given them. The second fact was that the Chiefs had now been made to realise that they no longer possessed their sovereignty as they had known it. They must now operate under the District Commissioners who were now their immediate superiors. Even their 'Old Friend,' the Governor, they must not meet or appeal to directly, without going through the District Commissioners who should determine which of the complaints were suitable for transmission to the Governor.

The clause of the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance on which attention was most focused was that of the imposition of the House Tax. According to this House Tax scheme,<sup>1</sup> a House Tax of 10/- was imposed on houses of four or more rooms, and 5/- on those of less rooms. It was later reduced to a flat rate of 5/- per house, and was only to apply in the first instance, to the three of the five Districts in the Protectorate. These were, Karene, Ronietta, and Bandauma as they were thought to be the most populous and prosperous because of their trade with the Colony. The other Districts, Koinadugu and Panguma, were exempted because they were considered too poor and less populous because of lack of trade and the effects of the devastation by the Sofas. The Chiefs were to be responsible for collecting the tax from

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1. PRO;CO267/426, Protectorate Ordinance No.20 of 1896.

their subjects for which they would receive 3d commission for a house. The District Commissioners with the Court Messengers and the Frontier Police (where necessary), were to go round to receive the tax from the Chiefs. Europeans and Krios were to pay direct to the District Commissioners. Payment was to begin in January 1898, and produce would be accepted in the first instance. This house Tax scheme was seriously resented by the Chiefs and in their petitions, they stated<sup>1</sup> that their houses and huts were worthless to be taxed; that their people would desert their villages if forced to pay; that they were too poor to pay; and reminded the Governor of the

"dreadful days in Kwaia; when, for house tax men and women were ruthlessly dragged from place to place, plundered and some flogged almost to death by the tax collectors. The dreadful disclosure of which moved Her Most Gracious Queen and Her Government to set up that lasting monument of English pity and benignity. They not only abolished the tax but returned the country to its former owners." 2

This must be a reference to the Colony land and house tax also imposed in ceded Koya in the 1860s, but which was repealed in 1872 and the land retroceded that same year, because of the confusion the collection of that tax created.<sup>3</sup> But the great fear of the Chiefs was that paying for their houses meant they were no longer theirs. They felt they were being asked to pay rent for their own houses built by themselves, and this was distasteful to them. They therefore, requested to be exempted from the House Tax, and in its place, they suggested contribution to help the Government run the country.<sup>4</sup>

All the grievances which the Chiefs had already borne in mind

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1. PRO;C0267/426. PETITION, TIMINI CHIEFS. June 28, 1897.
  2. Ibid.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.388-9.
  4. PRO;C0267/426. PETITION, TIMINI CHIEFS. June 28, 1897.

against the Protectorate Ordinance were aggravated by the way the House Tax clause was interpreted to them. They were only sharply informed that

"From 1st January 1898, every chief will have to pay to the District Commissioner, or person appointed by him, a house tax on every house, excepting houses owned or occupied by a person not a native in the service of the Government.

"For each house of four rooms or more rooms, 10s per annum. For each house with 3 or less number of rooms, 52 per annum. This tax has to be paid in money if possible, and a receipt will be given for it...

"Any person who does not pay this tax shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to pay three times the amount of tax or duty which he ought to have paid...

"This is the law in force now, and as soon as the District Commissioner arrives in your District, you will be guided thereby." 1

Such a language was rather too abrupt for a people already thinking of a resistance. Further, the language does not make it clear that the European and Krios would also have to pay the House Tax. This must have made the Chiefs feel the Europeans and Krios who were evidently the non-natives referred to, would not have to pay; and this misunderstanding must have added insult to injury.

On the whole, the situation was made much more confusing and sometimes to be misunderstood by the way the penal clause was interpreted to the Chiefs by the messengers. For instance, Fyfe has recorded that the concessions which Cardew gave to the Chiefs to

"go on hearing certain cases in their own courts, was construed as a threat to punish those who heard cases that ought to go elsewhere. The penalties prescribed for specific offences were

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1. P.P. 1899. Vol.LX. Chalmers Report pp.567-8. Circular Letter Oct.21, 1891 from Native Affairs Department explaining Protectorate Ordinance.

taken as threats to flog, fine, imprison or deport at will. A clause prohibiting sentences of flogging on women was understood to forbid a man to beat his wife. It was believed (though not mentioned in the Ordinance) that Chiefs would be forbidden to hear 'women palavers,' cases of alleged adultery with their wives, often brought only to extort money. It was even rumoured that polygamy would be put down. The lands clauses of the first Ordinance were taken as a threat to deprive them of their land, trading licenses of their right to trade, the Hut Tax of their houses."<sup>1</sup>

The messengers preferred to emphasize these aspects, and to interpret the Ordinance this way to assert their importance as the agents of the Government; as the immediate bosses of the Chiefs; as custodians of the law and responsible for its implementation; and to enforce obedience to the regulations. Thus the messengers too greatly contributed to inflaming the grievances of the Chiefs.

The methods of collecting the tax also helped to aggravate the situation. The Frontier Police were brutalizing the people during the collection of the tax. The Chiefs detested seeing these Frontiers, some of whom had been their runaway slaves coming to demand tax money from them; and profiteering was a common practice among the Frontier Police and the sub-chiefs who were the tax collectors. At their meeting with the Governor Cardew in Freetown on November 15, 1897, although they admitted that the tax was necessary for the expenses of the Government to run the country, they nevertheless requested that they be relieved of the House Tax altogether.

In his reply to the Chiefs, Cardew advanced several administrative arguments, and outlined the reasons for the need for the House Tax;<sup>2</sup>

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.552.
  2. P.P.1899. Vol.LX. Chalmers Report; p.584. Appendix II, Document XXIII. Text of Governor's Address to certain Chiefs of Karene District at Freetown on November 15, 1897.



that the cost of the Protectorate administration was in the region of £30,000 per annum, and these expenses should not be met by the revenue of the Colony, but by revenue raised from the Protectorate where the new administration had been set up; that the Protectorate people should pay for their "blessings of assured peace which meant, protecting them against invasion from outside, and that the ceasasion of inter-tribal wars and slave raiding,"<sup>1</sup> that the land needed to be developed by organizing its cultivation; that the authority of the Chiefs needed to be protected by Government agents who should be maintained. He assured the Chiefs that, "I want the Chiefs to understand that the Government wishes to rule through them, and that it is therefore to their interest to support the Government."<sup>2</sup> He emphasized that during the first year, produce would be accepted, that the temporary huts for farming purposes and villages of 20 huts and under, were exempted from taxation; and that the Chiefs would have a commission of 3d per hut for collecting the tax. But all these explanations did not satisfy the Chiefs. They were not interested in a government having to rule their country through them, granting them concessions in judicial matters, and giving them commissions for collecting the taxes; but that they themselves should rule their countries as in former years - this was the stand they took and nothing less.

It is however, significant to note that Cardew's tax scheme found some support in the new Protectorate. The missionaries in the south openly supported Cardew's tax measures. The American and Krio Pastors

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report; p.584. Appendix II, Document XXIII, Text of Governor's Address to Certain Chiefs of Karene District at Freetown on November 15, 1897.

2. Ibid.

were reported to have preached sermons at Shenge and Mano Bagru, telling the people they must pay the tax, making full use of the biblical text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God, the things that are God's."<sup>1</sup> The main reason for this was that the missionaries disliked all secret societies especially the Poro which was believed to be the organizer of the rebellion in the south, and which they felt was opposed to their preachings. Secondly, some of the southern Chiefs - Wilberforce of Imperi, Satigie Bundu of Rotifunk, Baha of Mafwe,<sup>2</sup> Bongo of Lugbu, Sepe of Bompeh (Ronietta District) - were well behind the missionaries in this move because they owed their support to their chieftaincy to the missionaries. Because of this, the other Chiefs had grounds to suspect the missionaries of threatening their positions, and it was best to get rid of them altogether.

Other Chiefs that were not Missionary supporters also favoured Cardew's tax measures. Prominent examples were Madam Yoko of Senehun, Nancy Tucker of Sembehun in Upper Bagru, Fula Mansa Gbanka of Yoni Mabanta, Charles Smart of Mahera in Koya, Satigie Dura of Sanda, Bai Suba An Bolt of Magbele in Marampa, Ngombu Tham Bendu II of Rokon in Masimra, and Bai Lal of Malal.

Madam Yoko had always been an open ally of the Government and was reported to have begun to collect the tax even before it was due.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report, p.292. The Text of the Sermon was taken from the Gospel of St. Luke Chapter 20, Verse 25 - Evidence by Alphonso Caulker, 15th September 1898.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.581-2.
  3. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.." p.68.

She took this step to defend herself against her enemies especially Kamanda of Bauya. In the case of Fula Mansa Gbanka, he had just been released from an imprisonment of seven years for his part in the Yoni Expedition of 1887, and as such, he did not want to annoy the Government any further. Moreover, he had already been lobbying for Government recognition in his new position as Paramount Chief of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom. Bai Suba an Bolt had been a loyal friend of the Government for which he was awarded a silver chain and medal in 1893. Charles Smart of Mahera had been crowned by the Frontier Police in 1894 to declare his Loko independence of Mahera, although his overlords Bai Kompa Bomboli, Pa Nemgbana Semor, and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, were against such a move. By supporting the Government, he had secured an umbrella against the attacks of his overlords. Like Charles Smart, Ngombu Tham Bendu II owed his post as Chief of Rokon in Masimra Country to the Government, against the wishes of his overlords Bai Simra Kamal and his Thallay brothers; and as his Loko people and the Temne were always opposing one another, he needed the protection of a higher authority - and in this case, it was the Government. Similarly, Santigie Dura of Sanda and Nancy Tucker of Sembehun were crowned to succeed Brima Sanda and Humpa Rango respectively, by the Frontier Police for their loyal support of the Government, which was against the wishes of their people. Bai Lal<sup>1</sup> who had all along been under the domination of Bai Simra Kamal, now used the Hut Tax situation to gain a staff of office so that he too could be a full-fledged Paramount Chief. This recognition was later

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1. Oral Traditions - Pa Roko Dawo M'Nes, Malconthen, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.2.76. Pa Foday Bangura, & Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom 20.2.76.

accorded him during the political reorganization of the Southern Temne country after the suppression of the Hut Tax War. All these divergent views on Cardew's House Tax Scheme among the Chiefs illustrate the fact of their never being in complete agreement even on the most crucial issues affecting them as a group. Such divisions were particularly common among the Southern Temne throughout the nineteenth century.

It was now evidently clear that Cardew needed money to run the Protectorate. The Frontier Police Force alone cost £19,972 which was more than one-fifth of the total revenue. The personal emoluments of each of the five District Commissioners was between £400 - £500 per annum.<sup>1</sup> The Colonial Office would not ask Treasury to give him a grant or loan to run the Protectorate as had been done in the case of the inauguration of Zululand and Bechuanaland Protectorates. In fact, the raising of such a loan was one of the suggestions of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup> Further, the Colony was too poor to produce money for the Protectorate, and Cardew did not want to tax the Colony which was only beginning to revive its economy from the effects of the depression years.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the people must learn to pay for their Government although in this case, they did not ask for Cardew's new Government, as it was

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.542-3.

2. Thomas H. Barker, Secretary, African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, July 22, 1898. ALSO Letter by Ellis Edwards to the Secretary, African Trade of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, June 23, 1898 - forwarded to Colonial Office on July 22, 1898.

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.542-3.

only imposed on them. He therefore, had no alternative, but to impose the tax in the Protectorate, and under such circumstances, it would have been difficult for any other Governor to have acted differently. It should however, be understood that although the Hut Tax was not the sole cause of the rising, it was the precipitating cause and Cardew himself admitted that it was the "last straw that breaks the camel's back, and hence the revolt."<sup>1</sup> How this war was fought and suppressed provided the most practical and vivid example of the peoples' resistance to colonial domination towards the close of the nineteenth century.

When, after their meeting in Freetown with Cardew on November 15, 1897, to discuss their last petition, their requests were not met and after Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs, later told them at another meeting that the Government was not prepared to concede, and that the matter should now be regarded as closed, the Chiefs became completely disillusioned. Dismayed, as all their constitutional attempts had failed, they returned to their chiefdoms and their next step was to plan the strategy for the physical resistance to the payment of the House Tax. The Sierra Leone Weekly News also shared this view when it plainly put it that "They [the Chiefs] appealed in vain to the authorities, and as a last resort, they decided not to pay, as they regarded the demand both unjust and oppressive."<sup>2</sup>

In January, 1898, Government Officials began to collect the tax

1. PRO;C0267/444. Cardew to Chamberlain, Conf. dated May 28, 1898.

2. Sierra Leone Weekly News, Vol.XIV, No.18, April 9 1898, p.2(251).



in each of the three Districts of Karene, Ronietta and Badajuma, and this attempt precipitated the rebellion. In February, the resistance on the north resulted in open warfare between the British forces and those of the Temne Chiefs led by Bai Bureh. In the south, the resentment took the form of savage attacks on all the Government and missionary establishments and on all English-speaking people, plundering, looting, arson, and enslaving. It was these two outbreaks that constituted the Hut Tax War - Hut Tax being only an emotive term used by those who disliked the tax, and now superseded the original term, 'House Tax.' According to Temne culture,<sup>1</sup> a house (ɔŋ Seth), is different from a hut (ɔŋ Gbom). The former is much larger and contains more rooms. The latter is used only for housing servants and domestics, and as such, huts are erected only in farms as temporary shelters against the sun and rain. When compared with the Government or Krio houses, the typical Temne houses were mere huts, and the term 'Hut Tax' was first used by the Freetown press to ridicule the new tax, and the expression thus adopted by the Temne and their collaborators and even their associates (the Mende), during the struggle.

Presenting the case to make the idea of the Hut Tax look much more ridiculous, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce described a 'Hut' in this way:

"What is a hut? It is simply a few posts, a little wattle, and some worked mud; it is covered by palm leaf, which is very plentiful everywhere, and in some places, by rice grass; 20/- to 30/- would be its utmost value, furniture included; this would

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1. My personal knowledge of Temne culture.

consist a bed made from wattle, and there  
you have a hut." 1

The aim of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce in giving this description was to prove that the native hut was too worthless to be taxed, and thus to condemn the idea of imposing the House Tax, the enforcement of which they felt would provoke such resentment as might disrupt their trade activities in Sierra Leone.

In the north, the war was fought mainly in the Karene District in which Maforki Chiefdom, one of the Southern Temne Chiefdoms was included; and also in Koya Chiefdom in the Ronietta District. Detailed accounts of how the war affected the whole of the Southern Temne country are given in chapters III-VII.

At the beginning of the war, Cardew and his administrative staff in the field did not seem to fully accept the gravity of the situation although the military officers in the field had long been aware of this. For instance, Cardew himself assumed that "a small demonstration of force conducted by the Frontier Police would reassert Government authority in less than a month."<sup>2</sup> The Administration were therefore, not prepared for a determined resistance since they all believed that the natives would gain from the benefits of 'civilization' under British protection and guidance. It was not until after three months of fierce resistance that they came to realize the strength of Temne opposition, which could be attributed to the personal military

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1. PRO;C0267/443. Ellis Edwards (Member of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce) to T.H. Barker, Secretary, Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, June 23, 1898.
  2. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report. Cardew to Chamberlain, May 1, 1899.

organizational ability of Bai Bureh as leader of the northern revolt.

Bai Bureh had been a distinguished warrior for which even the British respected him and made unsuccessful attempts to arrest him. In his Hut Tax War, he had many followers. His first recruits were his own personal warriors and war-men. Secondly, he had the members of the Scaradies alliances on his side.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, he fully utilised the Temne alliances in the north whose Chiefs had consulted in a number of occasions on the new political situation facing their country. Some of the important Southern Temne Chiefdoms<sup>2</sup> supported him with men, food, arms and amunition and by blockading the river communication, although they did not actually prepare for war. The most important of these occasions was probably when they met to draft the petitions against the Protectorate Ordinance. Bai Bureh himself was one of the six signatories to one of these petitions. He also enlisted the help of Suluku,<sup>3</sup> the powerful Limba Chief at Bunban who gave him both men and food, although Suluku himself took no part in the war. According to Denzer,

"Warriors came as far south as Funkdeh, Pamalap, and other towns near the customs stations at Mahera, on the south-western border with Guinea. Susu warriors came from Moriah in Guinea, giving

1. La Ray Denza: "Sierra Leone - Bai Bureh..." p.244.
2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimay Bomeporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.1.76.
Pa Pa Aleu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Say Bana Kabia Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	22.2.76.
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom	22.2.76.
3. Ruth Finnegan & David Murray: "Limba Chiefs. - in West African Chiefs (edited by M. Crowder & O. Ikemi (New York & Uni of Ife Press, 1970), p.410.

assistance in return for Bai Bureh's earlier support in their unsuccessful wars against the French. Bai Farimah of Safroko supplied both warriors and leaders, among them Pa Mana Saspo, who supervised the stockade construction in some areas. He was also instrumental in blocking the river traffic. Bai Kura Hari of Tinkatupa and Alimamy Baba of Rotata blocked the road to Falaba and refused to permit passage of Government messengers. Alimamy Rasin of Binti prevented Government messengers from using the road. The chiefs of Port Loko and Rowoola joined in making their entire area a bulwark against British encroachment." 1

While these things were happening, other chiefs, notably those of the Southern Temne Chiefdoms of Koya, Maforki, Marampa, and Masimra, arranged the barricading of the roads and the blocking of the river traffic of the Rokel river to obstruct the movement of the Government forces.

Bai Bureh had a powerful spy system. His spies were scattered in every direction and it was believed that some of them were even among the carriers of the Government forces. He himself had learnt the war tactics of the British as he had earlier on fought on their side in several campaigns in the north.

Bai Bureh organized a stockade system. Stockades were built not only to defend the towns but also along the roads where his warriors would fire on the British columns, without being noticed. This stockade system was a very useful guerilla method in fighting

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1. La Ray Denzer, "Sierra Leone - Bai Bureh", p.248. Sierra Leone Archives, Conf. Minute Papers, Reports of Customs Officers at Makela, 25th April, 1898. SLA/CMP, 56/98, Report of Customs Officers at Makela, 25th April, 1898. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report. Appendix E, Interview with Mr. T. Daldwell of the C.M.S. Mission, 12 May, 1898. SLA/Native Affairs Letter Book, 165/98. SNA to Alimamy Barbar of Rotata, 14th June 1898. P.P. 1899 Vol.LX, Chalmers Report, Evidence by Parkes, Cardew and Sharpe.



superior forces. Commenting on this method of fighting, Denzer has observed that "the secret of Bai Bureh's success was the appreciation that the only way to deal with invading troops with superior equipments was to use guerilla tactics."<sup>1</sup> But Bai Bureh did not depend only on stockades. He also supplied his warriors with enough guns and powder, and this produced quite a dependable army. Captain Sharpe, District Commissioner, Karene District, later, rightly estimated that Bai Bureh must have spent six months in advance, in his preparation for the war.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this estimation, it should be noted that Bai Bureh had been a very distinguished warrior and war chief and as such, he and his allies must have had quite dependable armies even before 1898. Moreover, his fame alone as a great warrior was sufficient to attract people to join him; and with such a huge support, it was indeed quite possible to complete a number of stockades within a week.

The collection of the Hut Tax had turned out to be far more difficult than Cardew and his field officers had anticipated. At first, the authorities expected only a few isolated incidents at the beginning of the collection of the tax which they felt the police could easily put down by firm action, and they hardly had any idea of the deep rancour the people bore against the new administration. Cardew himself demonstrated his wrong assumption of the situation when he wrote to the Secretary of State in October, 1898.

"I do not apprehend that the Chiefs will combine to forcibly resist the collection of the tax, for they

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1. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone - Bai Bureh..." p.233.
  2. P.P. Vol.LX; Appendix II, Paragraphs 3618-23. Evidence by Captain Sharpe.



lacked cohesion and the powers of organization, and there are too many jealousies between them for concerted action, but there may be isolated acts on the parts of some of the chiefs and their followers of forcible resistance to the tax which might spread to other tribes if not promptly suppressed by the Police..." 1

By this despatch, Cardew had totally underrated the organizational ability of Bai Bureh and his allies in warfare. He was however, correct as far as the southern Temne were concerned - they were too disunited to put up any united resistance against the Government in any physical confrontation, as they were to be seen during the conflict in 1898.

The Southern Temne that Sharpe, District Commissioner of Karene, had to deal with directly were those of Port Loko and Marampa. The prelude to his problems during the tax collection was when he faced a protest from his own Police staff at Karene as he asked them to pay the tax - the first to be asked. They protested on the ground that they were only forced to rent the houses they occupied because of the failure of the Government to provide accommodation for them. But Sharpe, who allowed no concession, coerced them to pay, which they did only reluctantly. This was however, a pointer to Sharpe that the tax collection was not going to be an easy matter for him. In addition, a tense atmosphere pervaded in Karene Town and its environs, by the coercion of the Police to pay the tax, and by rumours made broadcast that Bai Bureh and his forces were going to attack the barracks that night. Although the rumoured attack did not take place, it however, made Sharpe alert and convinced him that he should be prepared for the worst.

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1. SLA/GCDSS, 49/97, Governor Cardew to Secretary of State, 8.10.97.

The rebellion in the north continued until Bai Bureh was captured in November, 1898, but that his forces had already inflicted a heavy toll on the British fighting strength. According to Chalmers,

"On the side of the Government forces there was a total of casualties of 140. This includes thirteen officers and men killed in action or who died of wounds; five died of disease, fifty-three only slightly wounded, the remainder severely wounded. In addition, the casualties estimated among the labourers was 137 - their nature less particularly ascertained." 1

This report is corroborated by the return of casualties furnished by<sup>2</sup> Major G. Wilson R.A.M.C., Military Officer in charge of the Karene Expeditionary Force, and Lieu-Colonel J.W. Marshall, Commissioner, Karene Expeditionary Force. It is difficult to estimate the number of casualties on the side of Bai Bureh's fighting men, as both killed and wounded appeared to have been taken away by their companions immediately they fell in the battlefield.

While Bai Bureh was still at large, he sent a message of reconciliation to the Governor, and Rev. Elba, Suluku, the Limba Chief of Bunban, and Bai Simra Kayimbo of Safroko, offered to mediate. But Cardew, believing that some of the Chiefs had supported Bai Bureh, rejected their offer, and in fact, any attempt at reconciliation. Even the attempt by Sir David Chalmers, the Royal Commissioner, to

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1. P.P. 1899; Vol.LX, Chalmers Report Part I, p.39.
  2. P.P. 1899; Vol.LX, Chalmers Report p.623 - Return of Casualties by Major G. Wilson, R.A.M.C. M/O in charge, Karene Expeditionary Force, and Lt.-Colonel J.W. Marshall, Commissioner, Karene Expeditionary Force.

make peace between them was rejected by Cardew, as an attempt to subvert authority. Cardew continued to hold on firmly to his decision that Bai Bureh must be arrested and brought down to Freetown. But this was not an easy task.

Comparing the two revolts (the Temne and the Mende), it will be seen that Bai Bureh fought a war of authority, and nothing more. The traders, civilians, Missionaries and Europeans were all at his mercy, but none were molested or killed. Even the death of Rev. Humphreys which was caused by the war-men without orders from anyone in authority, Bai Bureh was reported to have been sorry for the incident, and to have ordered the killing of the men who murdered the Reverend. Other Missionaries were reported to be well treated by the Temne.<sup>1</sup> Further, there were no plundering raids or looting of property. Bai Bureh's forces were well disciplined, hence they even won the praise of British Officials. For instance, C. Braithwaite Wallis, a Frontier Officer in Bandajuma, in his memoirs of the Hut Tax War, confessed that,

"... if Bai Bureh was an unusually smart man, so did the Timini prove to be in the events that followed. Savages they may be, but even in their very fighting they betrayed such admirable qualities as are not always to be found in the troops of civilized nations. They loved their chief, and remained loyal to him to the very last, while they understand bush fighting as well as you and I do our very alphabet." 2

On this note Scotland therefore, concludes that Bai Bureh "proved to be a soldier and a man."<sup>3</sup> Denzer believes that Bai Bureh's war was

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1. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Establishment of the S.L. Protectorate.."p.69.
  2. C. Braithwaite Wallis: 'The Advance of our West African Empire'; London (1903),pp.51-2. Quoted by Denzer in "Sierra Leone-Bai Bureh" p.244.
  3. Douglas Scotland. "Notes on Bai Bureh of 1898 Fame.. Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.5 (Dec. 1955) p.18.

was by far one of the most difficult campaigns the British fought during the occupation of their West African possessions.<sup>1</sup>

No credit has been given to the Mende rising in terms of military strategy. Scotland describes it as a "barbaric affair where the leaders and war boys carried out murders of white people and English-speaking non-whites, wholesale looting and arson."<sup>2</sup> This opinion of the Mende rising has also been confirmed by more modern historians. Fyfe, for instance, says that the Mende warriors,

"Encouraged by news of Bai Bureh's success and tales of his supernatural power, they envisioned driving the Europeans into the sea. But they had no Bai Bureh to lead or discipline them. They fought as a disorganised, rapacious rabble, incapable of sustained opposition, but formidable in a sudden offensive against an unsuspecting opponent." <sup>3</sup>

The Mende rising had no stockades and employed no guerilla tactics, neither had it any efficient spy system to ascertain the movement of the British forces. They fought the British in the open and thus in less than two months, their rebellion was completely crushed.

It should be noted that as in the case of the Temne rising which was joined by other peoples in the Karene District, and Koya in the Ronietta District, the Mende rising was not only a rising of Mende but of peoples of every kind in the Mendeland and the Sherbro Countries of Temdale, Bagruwa, Bonthe, Bompeh, and Ribi. That is,

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1. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone-Bai Bureh - West African Resistance p.233.
  2. Douglas Scotland: "Notes on Bai Bureh of 1898 Fame..." p.18.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.572.

in the south,<sup>1</sup> the Mende, Bulom, Sherbro, Vai, Krim, Gallinas, Loko, Mabanta Temne, Susu, Fula, Mandinka, all took part in the rising. Most, as usual, joined in order to loot while the others such as the Fula, Susu, and Mandinka had the additional motive to catch or buy slaves. In favour of this version, Fyfe speaks of the Mende rising - "Primarily a Mende rising (and often so-called), Vai, Bulom, Loko, Mabanta Temne joined in, from taxed Protectorate to untaxed Colony alike. So did the scattered communities of Susu and Fula, to fight or - their traditional part in war-buy slaves."<sup>2</sup>

The Mende rising was not however, only confined to Mendeland. It did spread into some of the border areas of the Temne Country. Yoni Oral traditions<sup>3</sup> say that the Mende warriors from Mogere, Kori, Fakunya, and Komgbora Chiefdoms raided the Yoni border towns of Fondu, Masengbe, Kendema, Rochain Kamadawo, Ronola, Wankele Temne, Masambo, Bathbana, Mafentha, and Mabunkuma. They attempted to capture Yele, Mathamp, Mayeppoh, and Yiben, chief towns in the Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. They also advanced as far as Mayosso and Robinki in the Kolifa Mayosso Chiefdom. They were however, repulsed by the combined

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1. Oral Traditions

P.C. William Caulker, Rotifunk, Bompeh Chiefdom,	20.12.76
Madam Emma Kessebeh-Manley, Rotifunk, Bompeh Chiefdom	20.12.76
P.C. Kaini Kai Mahoi, Bradford, Ribi Chiefdom,	21.12.76

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.572.

3. Oral Traditions

Fula Mansa Binbinkoro, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9.1.76
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9.1.76
Pa Amadu Bangura, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9.1.76
Pa Alimamy Turay, Roruks, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	10.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76
Pa John G. Kamara, Masengbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	
Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	



forces from Gbonkolenken, Mayosso, and Yoni under the leadership of Bai Komp, Bai Yosso, and Gbanka respectively. Later, the two first Chiefs joined Gbanka in fighting on the Government side during the war. One reason for the combination of these forces was probably because these Chiefs saw in the Hut Tax War, a bold step by the Mende to extend their territories into Temneland.

But in spite of the difference in the method of fighting between the Temne and the Mende risings, both wars had one central aim - and this was, to resist foreign domination of their countries and to regain their authority and sovereignty which the British had taken away from them through Cardew's 1896 Protectorate Ordinance.

By the end of June 1898, military operations had restored order in the south. Those who were accused of leading the Mende rising, Nyagua of Panguma and Bai Sherbro (Bgana Lewis) of Yonnie in the Sherbro Country, had been arrested and detained in a Freetown gaol. There was no proof however, that these men were guilty of organizing or leading the rebellion in the south. Nyagua was never proved to have taken any hostile action against the Government. In the case of Bai Sherbro (Bgana Lewis), no war ever occurred in his chiefdom, Yonnie, and he was in fact, arrested in Bonthe where the war never reached, without any complicity ever being proved against him. So that the arrest, trial, and convictions of these men were wrong in that they were based only on mere suspicion and not on any fact whatsoever. Those who committed the numerous murders in the south

had been arrested, tried, and most of them executed before the end of December 1898. These hangings took place at Kwelu, Bonthe, and Badajuma and they included<sup>1</sup> the leading Bompeh Chiefs, the Songong of Imperi, Alexander Doomabey of Shenge, Foray Vong of Taiama, and the murderers of the Rotifunk and Taiama Missionaries.

In the north, Bai Bureh was captured only in November 1898, and brought down to Freetown. But he could not be tried because, his war did not kill any one other than those actually engaged in the battlefield; and secondly, he did not commit any act of treason since he was not a British subject and owed no allegiance to the Queen of Britain.<sup>2</sup> He was therefore, detained by special ordinance and later, in 1899, he, Nyagua, and Bai Sherbro, were deported to the Gold Coast.<sup>3</sup> On January 17, 1899, a general amnesty had been proclaimed all over the country except the murderers of Rev. Humphreys, Sorie Bunki, and Ngombu Tham Bendu II (Pa Combo).<sup>4</sup> The Hut Tax war had at last been effectively suppressed, and the Protectorate retained by force.

Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, realising the seriousness of the situation decided to appoint a Special Royal Commissioner of Enquiry into the affairs of the new Protectorate. The person appointed was Sir David Patrick Chalmers. Between 1867 and 1897, Chalmers had held several legal and judicial

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.589.

2. La Ray Denzer: "Sierra Leone - Bai Bureh..." p.263.

3. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, p.72.

4. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.589.

posts under the Colonial Office.<sup>1</sup> These included his appointment as Chief Magistrate in the Gambia in 1867; Chief Justice of British Guiana in 1878; and Chief Magistrate in the Gold Coast in 1879. He also served as Commissioner of Enquiry in Jamaica, and a Special Judge to conduct an Enquiry in Newfoundland in 1897. By the time he conducted the enquiry in Sierra Leone, he was already seventy years of age.<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain thus felt that Sir David Chalmers, with such a distinguished legal and judicial career, was quite suited to conduct the enquiry in Sierra Leone.

Chalmers arrived in Freetown in July 1898. On his arrival, he was received with honour by the Governor's Aide de Camp, the Colonial Secretary and other High Government Officials; a guard of honour was mounted in his honour and was greeted by firing guns, as the bearer of the Commission from the Queen.<sup>3</sup> He received an enthusiastic welcome from a vast crowd comprising the Krios, the Kissy Road Traders Association who had ordered the shops to be shut in his honour, and read an address of welcome to which he briefly replied.<sup>4</sup>

Chalmers was conducted to the Porter's Royal Hotel in Wilberforce Street, which had been prepared for the enquiry. Those who gave evidence included traders, Chiefs, Krios, Colony and Protectorate people, missionaries, the Governor and his Officials of the

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1. C. Fyfe: Documents relating to the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War Enquiry - in the David Chalmer's Collections, University of Edinburgh. Off-print from "African Research Bulletin". Vol.II, No.4. Sessions 1871-72 (July, 1972), p.3.

2. Ibid., p.5.

3. Ibid., p.14.

4. Ibid.

Administration, and Members of the Legislative Council. In all 270 people gave evidence.<sup>1</sup> But obviously, most of the evidence was biased; but it was assumed that Chalmers with his long experience as a judge, would be able to discount bias. For as Hargreaves has revealed,<sup>2</sup> the 37 witnesses from Koya Chiefdom, were all marshalled by W.T.G. Lawson, to support his case against the Government; the 25 from Shenge, Kargboro Chiefdom, were in support of the Government because of the missionary influence in the politics of that Chiefdom. Temne traditions say<sup>3</sup> that it was 'Pa Chama' (Chalmers) whom the good Queen Victoria, sent to drive away the wicked Cardew from their country. For this reason, they sang to his praise both in the Feast of Lanterns during the Ramadan Festival in Karene and Ronietta Districts, and in the Temne Poro Dance in Marampa and Masimra Chiefdoms.

#### RAMADAN SONG

Solo - Pa Chama-o, Pa Chama -o-

Chorus- O Chama-ŋ, Kɔnɔ re gbə li Kadu -e !

Solo - Pa Chama marimu chesɔ Kɔ nɛ

Chorus- O Chama-ŋ, kɔnɔ re gbəli Kadu-u e!

Solo- Pa Chama-o, Pa Chama -o-

Chorus - O Chama-ŋ, kən reə bəl Kadu- -e!

1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.588.

2. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate..." p.76.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompero, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31. 1.76
Pa Santigie Turay Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Kaprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76
Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief.	8.5.76

Solo-Pa Chama marimu che su tei-e!

Chorus- O Chama- kɔnɔ gbo gboli Kadu- e.

Translation and versification

Solo- Pa Chalmer-o, Pa Chalmer -o!

Chorus- O Chalmer, he came to conquer Cardew.

Solo- Pa Chalmer-o don't go again.

Chorus- O Chalmer, he came to conquer Cardew.

Solo- Pa Chalmer-o Pa Chalmer!

Chorus- O Chalmer, he came to drive Cardew away.

Solo- Pa Chalmer-o, please dont leave us again,

Chorus- O Chalmer, he came to conquer Cardew.

PORO SONG

Women- ɔ manɛ kɛmi, taa kotha ɔn wai mi  
tɛmɔ ɔnal mi re bɛnki-o,

Men- Soko mɛlangba Ro-Makorrgba-e  
e-e, Ro-Makorrgba,  
Pa Chama- -o. Pa Chama Kɔɣ wai.

Women- ɔ bitha kɛmi taa ɔn gbasa ɔn wai mi  
tɛmɔ ɔnal mi re bɛnɣi-o,

Men- Soko mɛlangba Ro-Makorrgba-e,  
e- e, Ro-Makorrgba  
Kɔɣ Chama- -o, kɔɣ Chama Kɔɣ wai.

Translation and Versification

Women- My boy-friend, if it is for the lappa you bought for me,  
That's why you are abusing me, come and take it away.



Men- Poro men are dancing at Makorrgba-e  
 A-a- at Makorrgba,  
 Pa Chalmers-o, it is Pa Chalmer that bought it.

Women- My in- law, if it is for the head gear you bought for me,  
 That's why you are abusing me, come and take it away.

Men- Poro men are dancing at Makorrgba-e  
 A-a at Makorrgba,  
 Kon Chalmer (Your Chalmers), it is Kon Chalmers that bought it.

These songs vividly portray the depth of rancour the Temne people bore against Cardew and his Hut Tax measures, and although the Yoni people fought on the side of the Government during the war, this did not stop this Poro song from spreading into their country, which is still being very enthusiastically sung there.

The events of the Hut Tax War properly laid the foundation for the British Colonial Administration of the Protectorate after 1900. After the war, Government organized a march of over one thousand soldiers through the Protectorate.<sup>1</sup> Most of the soldiers were members of the newly formed West African Regiment which included some Sierra Leoneans as well. The soldiers never attacked anyone on their march, neither were they hindered by the natives. By this show of strength, the Government meant to instil into the minds of the natives that they could not withstand British military power, so that in future, they should never oppose any Government measures. The natives also accepted this view, for according to Temne traditions,<sup>2</sup> the tremor

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1. C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone, p.148.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforiki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	15. 3.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	8. 4.76
Pa Kapprer Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76
Pa Kapprer Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom	8. 5.76

produced by the soldiers stamping their feet while marching, seized most of the natives with fear, terror and anxiety, and in consequence, took into the bush; and that some of the natives also especially those 'loyal' to the Government, welcomed the march, for the soldiers were warmly received in many places. Among the Southern Temne, Marampa, Masimra and Yoni were cases in point.

The second step the Government took was that the Chiefs who were considered the ringleaders of the rebellion were arrested and quietened. In the South, these were Baimba Kele of Banta Mokelle, Nyagua of Panguma and a few of his men, and Bai Sherbro (Ghana Lewis) of Yonnie in Sherbro Country. Baimba Kelle who had twice been acquitted of murder by Bonner, was detained by Ordinance in Freetown gaol in July, 1898. Nyagua and Ghana Lewis were deported by Ordinance, as political prisoners to the Gold Coast on July 30, where they died in 1906 and 1912 respectively.<sup>1</sup>

In the north, the Chiefs concerned outside the Southern Temne Country were Alimamy Lahai of Rowula and Bai Kura Hari of Tinkatupa, Both of whom were sentenced by Sharpe, the former, to fifteen years imprisonment with hard labour for 'levying war.' But this sentence had to be disallowed when the Law Officers' report on Bai Bureh was received,<sup>2</sup> and so, he was released. Bai Kura Hari was released after being detained for a few months<sup>3</sup> because his conviction was based only on slender and insufficient evidence.

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.594-5.

2. Ibid., p.595.

3. Ibid.

Like Nyagua and Gbana Lewis, Bai Bureh was deported by special Ordinance to the Gold Coast and arrived there in July 30, 1899. But unlike these two Chiefs, Bai Bureh was allowed back home in 1905 to end his days peacefully in his country.<sup>1</sup> Scotland gives the date of his arrival back in Sierra Leone and his resumption of his office of Paramount Chief of Kasseh, as July 17 and September 1905.<sup>2</sup> His deportation did not deprive him of his chieftaincy because by Temne constitutional law (up to the close of the nineteenth century), it was only on the death of a chief that the crown could pass to a successor. He died probably in 1908.<sup>3</sup>

Among the Southern Temne, the Chiefs concerned were Alikali Moriba II, Bai Forki Fenka, Bockarie Bamp, Bai M'Salmansa, Santigie Keareh, and Ansumana Balli - all of Maforki Chiefdom; Bai Kompa Bomboli, Nemgbana Simor, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, and Sorie Kamara - all of Koya Chiefdom; Bai Simra Kamal of Masimra Chiefdom; and Bai Sebor Queen of Yoni Mamella Chiefdom. Detailed accounts of what happened to these Chiefs, or what treatment meted to them is given in Chapters III and IV.

To seal these arrangements however, the fate of the murderers of Rev. Humphreys, Sorie Bunki, and Ngombu Tham Bendu II (Pa Combo), who had already been apprehended and kept in detention, had to be decided. Before his departure from Sierra Leone in 1900, Cardew had recommended

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1. Ibid.

2. Douglas Scotland: "Notes on Bai Bureh of 1898 Fame," - in Sierra Leone Studies, N.S. No.5 (December, 1955), p.18.

3. Ibid.

a general amnesty to all those who were connected with the Hut Tax War. This general pardon included the murderers of Rev. Humphreys, Sorie Bunki and Ngombu Tham Bendu II (Pa Combo).<sup>1</sup> In this case, Cardew might have been influenced by a letter dated November 14, 1900 by Rev. E.N. Elwin of the C.M.S. Mission.<sup>2</sup> In this letter, the Reverend had disclaimed any desire for vengeance by his Mission, against the murderers of Rev. Humphreys and asked for their release. If these men were to be pardoned, the other murderers of Sorie Bunki and Ngombu Tham Bendu II, should be given a similar treatment, hence Cardew's recommendation included the other murderers as well. But Sir Charles King-Harman who took over from Cardew as Governor of Sierra Leone, gave a counter recommendation against the extension of amnesty to such murderers on the ground that murder was a crime against the state and not against an individual.<sup>3</sup> In a reply dated April 29, 1901, Chamberlain rejected Cardew's recommendation and accepted that of King-Harman,<sup>4</sup> although no one seemed to have been charged with these murders. Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century the Protectorate had been properly organized for the British Colonial administration to operate at full swing, and the Chiefs were to respond accordingly.

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1. PRO.C0267/457. King-Harman to Chamberlain, 19.3.1901.
  2. PRO.C0267/457. King-Harman to Chamberlain, 19.3.1901 - enclosing Rev. Elwin's letter to Cardew, dated 14.11.1900.
  3. PRO.C0267/457. King-Harman to Chamberlain, 19.3.1901.
  4. PRO.C0267/457. Chamberlain to King-Harman, 28.4.1901.

PART III

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a number of activities in the Protectorate undertaken by the British Colonial Government, non-native traders, missionaries, and by the natives themselves. These activities included the central and local government administration and the organization of the Forces such as the Court Messenger and Police Forces, the West African Frontier Force; Commercial and educational activities.

In the administration of the Protectorate, the District Commissioners had supreme powers. They were assisted by their clerks, the Court Messengers, the soldiers of the West African Frontier Force, the Circuit Court Judges, and the Paramount Chiefs. From the establishment of the Protectorate, all the District Commissioners had clerks who were in fact, their closest assistants, both in the office as well as when they would go out on trek. In addition to their duties, they would receive strangers and sometimes act as go-between the Chiefs and the District Commissioners. These clerks were thus in a position to influence the District Commissioners in many issues affecting the natives. But only a few of them were natives of the Protectorate, and the majority of them were Krios recruited in Freetown. So that in effect, right from the early years of British Colonial administration in the Protectorate, it was the District Commissioners and their clerks that were ruling the natives. Among the Southern Temne, these clerks were very friendly with the Chiefs.

There appears a contradiction to what had previously been thought - that there were hostilities between the Temne and the Krio. It is



true that there were wars between the Colony and the Koya Temne in the early nineteenth century<sup>1</sup> for the settlement of the Liberated Africans. But these wars were fought only for territorial expansion and were provoked by the Governors who wanted to win military glory. The wars were therefore, not essentially fought between the Krio and the Temne. Moreover, these wars were not fought in any other Temne country and as such, they could not create general hostilities between the Krio and the Temne. On the contrary, the Krio traders and the Temne were generally in good terms throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fyfe<sup>2</sup> has noted that in Port Loko, Krio men were "living with Temne women." Temne traditions<sup>3</sup> say that there were in fact, intermarriages between the Krio and the Temne in the Southern Temne Country. In Koya, Bai Kompa Dumbuya and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu gave their daughters, Mariama Dumbuya and Memuna Bundu respectively, to Krio traders in marriage. In Marampa, this was done by Bai Koblo Angbemachi III of Marampa Town, and his powerful Sub-Chief, Bai Suba An Bolt. They gave several of thier daughters to Krio traders and

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1. See Chapter III.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.253-4.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.76
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.76
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko Maforki Chiefdom	31.12.76
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1. 76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2. 76
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18. 4.76
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Pa Santigie Yananakay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76
Pa Abdulai Koroma, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	18. 1.76

clerks in Magbele. Yoni traditions<sup>1</sup> vividly recall the very many Temne/Krio marriages contracted during the construction of the Railway and its operation. Examples of Krios who had Yoni Temne wives are Pa Beckley, the Railway construction Engineer at Macrogba; Pa Gbodobi Coker, Pa James, Pa Cole, Pa Taylor, Pa Johnson, Pa Deen - all of Ronietta; Pa Manley, Pa Lemon, Pa Pratt, and Pa Decker - all of Roruks. Through such marriages, the Krios were able to gain support among the natives in their trade and were well disposed towards the Chiefs. It was these marriage ties that increased the popularity of Bai Kompa Dumbuya, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III, Bai Suba An Bolt, Fula Mansa An Soila and Fula Mansa Gbabere, in Government circles. Today, the offsprings of such marriages especially the Johnsons and the Beckleys of Yoni are among the most prosperous traders in Southern Temne Country.

Although after 1898, the Protectorate had become quiet and the people were paying their House Tax, the Frontier Police still continued to be oppressive - still engaged in registering huts, helping Chiefs to collect the tax in which they would demand more than was required, extortion, petty tyranny, and burning villages.<sup>2</sup> But this Force was disbanded in 1901 by Governor King-Harman, who separated their military and police duties. The military duties were taken over by the West African Frontier Force, while the police duties by the Court Messenger Force. To the Chiefs, this was a great relief as some of

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1. Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 18.1.76  
 Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76  
 Pa Kapprr Serra Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.606.

the Court Messengers appointed after 1900 were their own relations. For example<sup>1</sup> in Yoni Mabanta, Pa Bockarie Bintimodu Jah who was one of the most highly respected Court Messengers in the Bombali District for more than twenty years, was a nephew of Paramount Chief Fula Mansa An Solia, and brother of Pa Abu Jah of Bathbana.

The West African Frontier Force was created in 1903<sup>2</sup> as a military body to protect the British West African Territories. It was an amalgamation of the Military and Police Forces of Sierra Leone, The Gold Coast, Nigeria and the Gambia. In the Protectorate, a detachment of this force, which was technically called the "Sierra Leone Battalion of the West African Frontier Force, was attached to each District, under European Officers,"<sup>3</sup> to put down any rebellion. In Southern Temne Country, such detachments were posted at Karene and Port Loko, since these were the places where the Hut Tax rebellion occurred in 1898.

The Court Messenger Force in Sierra Leone was not officially described as a Police Force; nevertheless, its members performed Police duties and by law, they had the powers of constables. The growth of this force was casual rather than deliberate, hence it was quite a curious force. In addition to Police duties, and although it was not neatly organized, it was quite well suited to the many local

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22.1.76
Pa Abu Jah, Bathbana, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	28.1.76

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.606.

3. N.C. Hollins: " Note on the History of the Court Messenger Force" - Sierra Leone Studies, D.S. No.XVIII (Nov. 1932), p.78.

tasks it was ordered to perform.

Before the establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, the Colony Government communicated with the Chiefs through messengers. These carried and brought messages, and acted as interpreters, since almost all the Chiefs were illiterate, communication poor, and local wars frequent. They were usually physically strong, intelligent, and trustworthy men. Such men as T.G. Lawson and Sanako Madi were important examples. They wore no uniforms but were given "a brass button surmounted by a crown as a token of their position."<sup>1</sup> But although Sanako Madi remained in this position, Lawson rose to higher heights. He was later regarded as the most senior Government Messenger and Interpreter, and subsequently promoted to the post of head of Aborigines Branch of the Secretariat, an office which he handled with the utmost efficiency, and which he only relinquished on his retirement in 1888.

When the Protectorate was established in 1896, the District Commissioners took with them most of the messengers that had already been employed in Freetown to start their duties. In the Protectorate they were styled "Court Messengers," because District Commissioners were empowered to hold Court Sessions and these messengers would issue summons, call witnesses, run errands, carry messages from the District Commissioners to the Paramount Chiefs and execute arrests. By acting as interpreters, they became the intermediaries between the District Commissioners and the Chiefs with their people. Some of these Court Messengers could be very efficient indeed. For example, Pa Amadu

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1. N.C. Hollins: "A Note on the History of the Court Messenger Force"; Sierra Leone Studies O.S. No.XVIII (Nov., 1932), p.78.



Borbor at Moyamba is well remembered by Temne traditions<sup>1</sup> and commended by Fairtlough<sup>2</sup> for his efficiency.

This Court Messenger Force which numbered only 13 at the beginning of 1896 was increased to 27 in early 1898. Court Messengers were armed in order to help the District Commissioners in the suppression of the Hut Tax War.<sup>3</sup> Fairtlough used them very well in quelling the rebellion in Koya Chiefdom.<sup>4</sup>

After 1900, Government finding the force useful, continued to increase their numbers. For instance, in 1902, their number went up to 127, and were given the additional task of guiding prisoners working outside the prisons.<sup>5</sup> In 1907, their number was increased to 190, and were further given semi-civil duties from the military. They were by Ordinance No.31 of 1907,<sup>6</sup> constituted as a 'Force' given powers and duties of constables, pension rights as those of the Civil Police in the Colony, and defined ranks and rates of pay. According to this Ordinance, their duties became clearly defined as,<sup>7</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,    | 14.1.76 |
| Pa-Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, | 3.2.76. |
2. PRO;CO263/548. Report of Ronietta District for 1912. Merewherther to Rt. Hon. L.V. Hercort, 28.2.13.
  3. C.N. Hollins. "A Note on the History of the Court Messenger Force", p.79.
  4. PRO;CO267/438. Encl. No.3 (Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary/in Desp. No.35 of May 9, 1898. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  5. N.C. Hollins "A Note on the History of the Court Messenger Force, p.79.
  6. C.N. Hillins: " Note on the History of the Court Messenger Force Sierra Leone Studies, O.S. No.XVIII (November, 1932) p.79.
  7. Ibid.



- "(1) In the preservation of peace, the prevention and detection of crimes, the arrest and punishment of offenders and all other such duties as are really performed by a Civil Police or Constabulary."  
 "(2) In assisting in such manner as may be required by lawful authority in the administration of the District."

By these clauses of the Ordinance, No.31, it can be realized that the Court Messenger Force had now completely taken over the police duties which were formerly the responsibility of the Frontier Police - such as the prevention and detection of crimes, the arrest and punishment of offenders."

As had been the case previously, the Court Messenger were placed under the direct control of, and at the disposal of the District Commissioners. Their powers being so wide, they were in effect, the 'District Commissioners' in the remote areas of the Protectorate. During the collection of the House Tax, they were very much employed by the District Commissioners, and proved quite useful in this regard. By the end of the 1920s ex-soldiers began to be recruited into this Force since these men joined ready-made and only required the moderate amount of training to render them useful in the Force.<sup>1</sup>

The new recruits were certainly preferred to those previously nominated by the Paramount Chiefs, many of whom lacked previous training. Compared with the Frontier Police Force, the Court Messengers proved to be more at home with the Chiefs, for some of them were nominees of the Chiefs, and some, ex-soldiers who might not be necessarily runaway slaves. They were thus a useful and acceptable

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1. N.C. Hollins. "A Note on the History of the C.M. Force", p.79.

machinery during the early administration of the Protectorate; and the Force was abolished only in 1954.<sup>1</sup>

Circuit Court Judges began to operate in 1903, going round the Protectorate holding Circuit meetings to try serious cases such as those connected with murder. They were of great assistance to the District Commissioners who were not legally trained, and were relieved of much of their legal duties. It was a Circuit Court Judge Mr. Parodi, that tried and sentenced Bai Simra Ponko, Kaprrr Yellow, Sorie Bia, and Bomino, all of Masimra Chiefdom for the murder of Kaprrr Yoni of Rogbongban, in Yoni Mamella Chiefdom in 1918. (full details in Chapter VI)

In the case of the Chiefs, they were now an arm of the Administration and the Government was to rule through them. This in itself, was an indirect rule. Through a series of Ordinances enacted between 1901 and 1920, chieftaincy underwent important modifications which further considerably reduced the powers of the Paramount Chiefs. This was done by controlling some of the native customs, replacing factious Chiefs with others who were not from legitimate ruling families, and splitting up chiefdoms in troubled areas. This fragmentation resulted in a multiplicity of small powerless chiefdoms especially in the south, so that by 1920, there were 217 chiefdoms in the Protectorate. Among the Southern Temne however, such fragmentation did not take place. No new Chiefdoms were created - only

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1. My personal knowledge of events.

2. PRO;C0267/577. Enclosure No.2 in Despatch Sierra Leone No.167 May 29, 1918. King-Harman to Rt. Hon. Long, M.P.

Masimra that was slightly reduced to increase the size of Yoni Mabanta, as a punishment to the Bai Simras for their insubordination to Government orders, and as a reward to Fula Mansas Gbanka, Kafoim, and Kamamda for supporting the Government during the Hut Tax War of 1898.

The 1901 Ordinance<sup>1</sup> in particular, redesignated all the ancillary chiefs, headmen and other big men as 'Tribal Authorities' who were to be nominated by the Paramount Chiefs and approved by the Government. Maintenance of law and order, and the collection of the Hut Tax became the main duties of the Paramount Chiefs and the Tribal Authorities. They were allowed 5 per cent rebate from all taxes collected by them. The Chiefs were however, allowed to continue their extraction of customary duties and the use of communal labour in the cultivation of their own farms, building of their houses and compounds, and for public works such as building of the compounds of the District Commissioners and providing carriers for them while on trek, opening and clearing of roads and construction and repairing of bridges.

The way the Chiefs exploited this colonial situation was very significant. Many of them, particularly those who had been favoured by the Government continued to suppress and extort their subjects, especially their opponents, hiding under the umbrella of the Government. They would flog, put in chains, bonds and 'lock-ups' (local prisons), and demand more tax than the law required.

Governor, Sir Charles King-Harman<sup>2</sup> noted this point in his despatch

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1. C. Viswasm in Local Government (Finance) Expert in the Chiefdoms. U.N.D. "Sierra Leone Local Government in the Chiefdoms". First Interim Report. Ministry of the Interior, Freetown (December, 1972) Appendix I, p.85.
  2. PRO;C0267/457. King-Harman to Chamberlain; Conf. 6.3.1902.

to the Secretary of State. Among the Southern Temne,<sup>1</sup> Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and Bai Kompa Dumbuya of Koya Chiefdom; Fula Mansas Gbanka, Kafoim, and Kamanda of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, were notorious in this regard. Thus by the turn of the second decade of the twentieth century, colonial administration became beneficial to both the British Government and the Chiefs, for while the Government used the Chiefs to entrench colonialism, the Chiefs in turn, used the colonial situation to strengthen their economic and political positions.

Koya traditions<sup>2</sup> point out one prominent example in which the Chiefs supported the Government in order to gain their continued favour. This was during the 1914-18 World War, when Bai Kompa Dumbuya and his principal men recruited from among their subjects, soldiers to fight the war, and contributed rice and other food-stuffs for the contingent stationed in Freetown. This was not only true of the Koya Chiefs, but also of other Chiefs in the Protectorate.

The commercial activities of the Protectorate after 1900 were promoted by the help of the railway. The credit for the first

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14. 76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18.4.76
Pa Foday Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom	17.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76
Pa Kappr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbangbam, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom	7.4.76

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76



proposal to construct the railway into the interior goes to Dr. E.W. Blyden<sup>1</sup> who, as early as 1872, had felt the need for such a road and made the suggestion to the Colony Government, to the effect. But his recommendation was not acted upon until the 1890s. During this period of about twenty years, the very slow and laborious process of transporting produce to the ports of Bonthe and Freetown by human portage and river transportation, continued. From these ports, produce would be shipped to Europe. By the 1890s when trade recovered and the volume of export produce increased, traders pressed the need for the construction of the railway.

During one of his tours of the hinterland in 1895 therefore, Governor Cardew who was much interested in the advancement of trade to raise money to run the administration and for local development programmes, went out to plan the route himself. This was from Freetown through Songo Town, Rotifunk, Bo to Kailahun. The stretch from Freetown to Songo Town was started in 1895 and "was finished in 1899; the next, to Rotifunk in 1900, to Bo in 1902, to Baiima in 1905, to Pendembu, the terminus, in 1914."<sup>3</sup>

The benefits the railway brought both to the natives and the Government were immense. To the natives, it helped to improve their economy in that as workers in the construction works, they were paid wages, and transportation of themselves and their commodities to Freetown, and their merchandise into the Protectorate, was facilitated.

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.529.

2. My personal knowledge of Temne Society.

3. C. Fyfe: S Short History of Sierra Leone, p.153.



Socially, they began to build towns along the railway with improved architecture of their houses. Among the Southern Temne, the countries which benefited most were Koya and both Yonis, since it was through them the railway passed. Consequently, the Yoni no longer needed to fight for access to the waterhead trade of the Rokel, Ribi, Bompeh and Bagru Rivers, as was the case before the 1890s. But the branch line railway caused bad economic decline in the Rokel River area. As trade shifted to Yoni following the new road, the economic importance of Marampa and Masimra faded away. This shift of the trade was also accompanied by the swing of the population to the Yoni railway trade centres, and the resultant physical ruin of Magbele, Rokel, Rokon, and Macontheh. This argument has been vigorously supported by the Koya, Marampa and Masimra traditions.<sup>1</sup>

On the Government side, the promotion of trade helped to increase the revenue. Palm produce which was in great demand in Europe which was preparing for World War I, would quickly be transported to Freetown for shipment.

The close of the nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of a people who were to play a very important role in the socio-economic development of Sierra Leone, and consequently, their presence has become one of the focal points in the history of the country. These were the Syrians or Lebanese. van der Laan<sup>2</sup> has suggested 1896 to

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20.2.76
Pa Roke Daw M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.2.76

2. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone (1975 . Mouton & Co. N.V. Herderstraat 5, The Netherlands), p.2.

be the date of the arrival of the first of their number. Fyfe<sup>1</sup> simply says they began to arrive in the 1890s, which is a safer way of dating their arrival. Whatever may be the date of their arrival, it is now evident that by the 1920s their number had increased from 41 in 1901, to over 500. For instance, in 1921, they were 563<sup>2</sup> in number.

The origin of the two names "Syrians" and "Lebanese", can be briefly accounted for. van der Laan informs us that "when the early immigrants were asked for their nationality, they described themselves as Syrians because they came from the Province of Syria in the Turkish Empire. They avoided the name Turks, because they disliked Turkish rule."<sup>3</sup> Of course, they would not like masters who had suppressed them and forced them into voluntary exile. "Syrians" was thus the name by which they came to be known throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. But others more precisely described themselves as "Syrians from Mount Lebanon."<sup>4</sup>

During World War I (1914-18), the Turkish Empire joined Germany and Austria and declared war on Britain and France. When, at the end of the War, the Turkish Empire was defeated, the northern part of the former Province of Syria fell under the Mandatory Power of France who in 1920, divided it into two new states - to be known as 'Syria' and

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.514.

2. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone (1975. Mouton & Co. N.V. Herderstraat 5, The Netherlands), p.7. Table I.

3. Ibid., p.2.

4. Ibid.

'Lebanon.' The result of this division was that most of the Syrians in Sierra Leone began to officially describe themselves as Lebanese. The minority however, remained Syrians, as citizens of the Republic of Syria.<sup>1</sup> But it is the name 'Syrians' that is popularly used in non-official circles in Sierra Leone, and in fact, this is the name the natives who are in daily social and commercial intercourse with them, know. In the remainder of this chapter therefore, the word 'Syrians' is used throughout, since it is the name the Southern Temne are more familiar with.<sup>2</sup>

As is sometimes the case with most immigrants, the Syrians experienced very difficult times during their early years in Sierra Leone. As they could not be employed because of their lack of experience of the people and their local languages, they began to engage in street trading selling cheap imported goods such as red taffetin cloth and imitation of coral beads for which they were nicknamed 'Corals,'<sup>3</sup> and this was probably the time the public began to distinguish them from the Europeans. This name was given them by the Krios, as a demonstration of the contempt and dislike they bore for them. But the Temne called them 'KOLERR' (probably a corruption of coral).<sup>4</sup> In Temne however, 'KOLERR', also means,<sup>5</sup> red taffetin

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1. Ibid.

2. My personal experience of Temne society.

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.514.

4. Oral Traditions

Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76
Pa Kappr Serra, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom	17.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom	17.1.76

5. Ibid.

cloth. In this sense, the name 'KOLERR' is used in a derogatory sense, to mean that the Syrians, as street sellers of red taffetin cloth, were quite different from the 'D POTHO' (the white man - Portuguese, English, French, German, etc., engaged in prestigious merchandise business). To make this distinction more clearly, they would call the European 'KOLERR BANA' (big white man).<sup>1</sup> This distinction clearly illustrates the point that although the skins of both peoples were white, the Temne had more respect for the English and other Europeans, than the Syrians. Nevertheless, the natives who were already tired of the well known assortment of trade goods, were attracted by the trade on the cheap goods, brought by the Syrians.

The antipathy towards the Syrians by the Krios however, seems to be only at top level. That is, it seems that only the big Krio men that disliked the Syrians for reasons to be suggested later in this chapter. The common people, although still called them 'Corals,' might only have done so to entertain themselves. Deep down in their hearts, they did not seem to hate the Syrians, and they had no reason to, for they had no business or political aspirations which might conflict with the interests of the Syrians. In fact, these common people who included the low class Krios and the up-country people who formed the bulk of the Freetown masses ~~who~~ were the chief consumers of the cheap goods on which the Syrians traded; so that they had more reason to like the Syrians than to dislike them, purely on grounds of day-to-day economic subsistence.

In the Protectorate, the Syrians did not seem at first to face

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.242.



serious hostilities from the natives; they seemed to be welcomed everywhere they went. This fact is strongly supported by oral traditions collected throughout the Southern Temne Chiefdoms.<sup>1</sup> According to these traditions, the Syrians were given places to settle. In the very early years, free houses were given them - a practice quite common among the Temne in their endeavour to be hospitable to strangers, particularly those who would bring trade to them. Later in some places, they would rent houses to open shops, acquire lands to build houses as 'tenants at will' or for 'a term of years' or as 'a lease'; and would marry native women. They settled in the trading centres such as Kambia, Rokuppr, Mambolo, Port Loko, Thumba, Gbabai, Magbeni, Foredugu, Mahera, Magbele, Rokel, Rokon, Makontheh and Robat. After 1910, some moved to the railway trading towns of Magbenka, Roruks, Makonkary, Macrogba, Komrabai Yoni, Yonibana, Komrabai, Mamella, Mabome, Magburaka, Mamutha, and Makeni. Because of such association, they were able to learn the Temne language with admirable speed and fluency. Bayley Winder has observed that it is impossible to find any other group of non-Africans who can boast of so many of their members who are able to speak Sierra Leonean

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#### 1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.1.76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	8. 4.76
Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22.2.76
Pa Roke Dawo, Makontheh, Marampa, Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Alimamamy Fullah, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76



languages as the Syrians.<sup>1</sup> It was this ability to speak the native languages that stood them *in* good stead among the Southern Temne during their early period among them. This was however, only one factor that facilitated their social relationship with the Southern Temne. There were other factors as well - and very important ones too. These were religion, education, and mixed marriages.

In religion, the Syrians who came to Sierra Leone were divided into Christianity and Islam. The Syrian Christians were sub-divided into Catholics and Protestants,<sup>2</sup> the latter group striving as much as possible to avoid the former, and preferring to patronize the C.M.S. and E.U.B. Missions. These two distinct Christian groups among them continued to exist throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century.

As in the case of the Christians, the Syrian Muslims in Sierra Leone were also divided into two groups - Shi'ite and the Sunite Muslims. The former were believed to have migrated from Southern Lebanon and to have belonged to the poorest proletariats. In the case of the latter, they were believed to have migrated from Tripoli, and were the fewest emigrants because they were never a seriously suppressed people. In Sierra Leone however, the two groups tried to live simply as Muslims.

Although in the earliest decades of the twentieth century up to the 1920s, there were more Syrian Christians than Muslims,<sup>3</sup> the

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1. R. Bayley Winder: "The Lebanese of West Africa" - in Immigrants and Associations ed. by L.A. Fallers (The Hague Paris, 1967), p.139.
  2. H.L. van Der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, pp.237-8.
  3. Ibid., p.238.

population of the latter has seemed to outnumber the former in the succeeding periods.<sup>1</sup> This may be accounted for by the fact that the Muslim groups among them were more united than the Christians. Moreover, their areas of operation in the Protectorate particularly in the north and more particularly among the Southern Temne, had far more Muslims than Christians. It was in fact these native Muslims that were the customers and middlemen of the Syrians in their businesses. The Syrians among the Southern Temne thus had a greater field of social and commercial intimacy through Islam than through Christianity.

Education also played a very important role in promoting the social relationship between the Syrians and the natives, as it was also even the case with the Krios. As the children went to school, they learnt to share the friendship of one another in their studies, eating, playing, and speaking the same languages. Such friendship continued on to adulthood, and one could notice the Krio or the Provincial civil servants to operate with leading Syrian businessmen in the spirit of mutual co-existence.

With reference to mixed marriages, it has been established that the Syrians were well intermingled with the natives through marriage ties - that is, the male Syrians marrying the native girls, and not in the reverse order. One reason for this was that the first Syrians who arrived did not seem to bring enough women with them. For instance,<sup>2</sup> of the 41 Syrians in Sierra Leone in 1901, only 3 were women,

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1. Sierra Leone National Census (Freetown, 1931) p.62 & pp.183-4. In this census, about 56-58 per cent of the Syrians were Muslims.

2. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.7.

and in 1921, 148 of their total population of 563 were women. In order to gain the support of the natives in their transactions, they would marry their daughters. The most notable of these in-laws were the local magnates such as the Chiefs, who needed financial support to maintain their status, enhance their political ambitions and support their numerous followers. In Koya,<sup>1</sup> Momodu Yasin (alias Maleftheh - skilful man-in Temne) was married to a daughter of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu and his brother Hassan Yasin, to a daughter of Pa Nemgbana Kamara of Magbeni. In Magbele,<sup>2</sup> Abud Solomons married the daughter of Bai Suba An Bolt. In Yoni,<sup>3</sup> Amadu Chibli married the daughter of Bai Sebora Thelleh II of Yonibana, and Abud Samuels, the granddaughter of Fulamansa Gbabere of Roruks. The most obvious result of such mixed marriages was the production of the Afro-Syrian offsprings who later became quite outstanding personalities in the social and economic life of the people. The Afro-Syrians are quite many today among the Southern Temne. From 1910, the Syrians had so acquired good friendly relations with the natives, particularly with the Chiefs and the educated elite that as early as 1914, some of them began to apply for naturalization.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.2.76  
 Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.2.76  
 Yan Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.2.76
  2. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76  
 Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76  
 Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom. 22.2.76  
Oral Traditions
  3. Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 3.4.76  
 Pa Bockarie Fulla Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76  
 Pa Alimamy Turay, Roruks, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 18.1.76
  4. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.238.

The greatest contribution made by the Syrians in Sierra Leone during the first three decades of the twentieth century was in connection with their trade activities involving the Government, European merchants, Krio businessmen and the Protectorate native traders and producers.

Before the 1890s, the trade in Sierra Leone had been mainly owned by Europeans. This was the import-export trade. The imports were the European manufactures while the exports included slaves (up to 1806), and produce. From 1807, when the slave trade was made illegal in British territories, the export of slaves through the Colony controlled or influenced ports of Freetown, Pepel (Bunce Island) and Bonthe, was immediately stopped. Therefore from 1807 onwards, the exports became mainly African produce. In all these trade transactions, the Europeans were the chief merchants, closely followed by the Krio businessmen who would also serve as middlemen. The natives on the other hand, were the producers of the commodities and formed the bulk of the consumers. They could also act as middlemen and in the up-country areas, on the riverheads where the colony-interior trade was brisk, they were the landlords. This landlordship fetched wealth and influence to their leaders. In terms of entrepreneurship therefore, only the Europeans and the Krios that could be considered; and that the natives were entirely outside this circle. This dominance of the European-African trade continued throughout the nineteenth century. But from 1900 on to the 1930s, this trade monopoly was actively challenged by the Syrians who now numbered 1,116 (in 1931).<sup>1</sup> Because of their strong social relations

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1. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.7, Table 1.



with the natives, they were able to emerge as very prosperous traders wherever they established.

During this period, the Syrians, particularly those in the large commercial centres on the riverheads and railway stations, acted as middlemen or intermediaries between the large European export-import Companies on the one hand, and the "peasant producers,"<sup>1</sup> or the "African traders,"<sup>2</sup> on the other. In this transaction, the European firms would give them large quantities of goods on credit. The reason was because they could be trusted since those who were established could hardly run away leaving their families and properties behind. Further, they could bargain with the native customers, give credit to the natives more easily because they were better judges of the risks involved in such transactions. As they penetrated into the Protectorate beyond the riverheads and the railway trading centres, they made far more native customers than the Krios and Europeans could. These native customers, particularly those with the business acumen, were able to advance the trade of their own localities.

But the Syrians were more than middlemen; and in fact, they would not like the description of 'middlemen' to be applied to them, since it implied a position of total dependence on the European Companies. As a middleman could not become an exporter, the Syrians would prefer "to call themselves 'merchants' to assert their rights as exporters,"<sup>3</sup>

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1. M. Crowder: West Africa under Colonial Rule, (London, 1968), p.286.
  2. H.W. Ord & I. Livingstone: An Introduction to West African Economics (London, 1969) p.145.
  3. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.224.



and were allowed such rights by the Government. Their enterprises were however, local not foreign as in the case of the European enterprises which were directed by foreigners and from abroad. In the case of the Syrians, their enterprises were not directed from abroad, but all within Sierra Leone. The resources of capital and manpower have been inside Sierra Leone, "it has perceived only the opportunities which existed in Sierra Leone, its horizons have been limited to the country on an even smaller area, and its decisions have been taken locally."<sup>1</sup> By organizing their businesses this way they immensely benefited the natives, since most of their establishments were located in the Protectorate.

Another reason why the Syrians were more than middlemen was that they traded in many commodities which were of little interest to the big European Companies. Produce such as Kola nuts and rice were important examples of such commodities. Kola nuts seemed to have been an important commodity for trade as far back as the sixteenth century, and has been up to the twentieth century, mainly operated within the African continent. Kola nuts produced in the Temne Country was mainly sold in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, the Gambia and Senegal, in which trade the Muslim traders dominated. Most of the Syrians actively took part in the Kola trade. For instance, by 1925, out of the 21 Syrian traders, 18 were listed as trading in Kola nuts,<sup>2</sup> the main reason being that they faced very little competition from the European Companies.<sup>3</sup> The rapid increase in this trade from 1900

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1. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.225.

2. T.N. Goddard: The Handbook of Sierra Leone (New York, 1969, formerly published in 1925) p.201.

3. Ibid., p.163, AND Sierra Leone Protectorate Handbook(1955),p.52.

benefited both the Syrian exporters on the one hand, and the natives as producers on the other. For instance, by 1920, the export of Kola nuts which was only 748 tons in 1900, had risen to 2,657 tons; and by 1927, the tonage had gone up to 4,462.<sup>1</sup>

Rice, as a staple food had always been in great demand in Sierra Leone. It was mainly consumed in Sierra Leone and the neighbouring countries of Guinea, Senegal, the Gambia and Liberia. There is hardly any evidence of its being exported elsewhere up to the early twentieth century and it was not even enough for local consumption between 1910 and 1920, the decade covering the First World War. As a local commodity, it had got to be properly stored during the harvest season for sale in time of want. And the Syrians being the most lucrative traders in this commodity among the natives, it was they who possessed the storage facilities - an advantage which was to become a source of attack on them in the 1919 riots.

The Syrians also traded on local produce such as palm oil, palm kernels, gum copra, ginger, beniseed, corn, guinea corn, chillies, etc., in which trade they vehemently competed with the European Companies and the Krio businessmen. In all these trade transactions, the Protectorate People benefited immensely as producers, transporters, middlemen and partners. Before the 1920s, the Syrian traders had almost entirely supplanted the European Companies in the Protectorate and had completely over-shadowed the big Krio merchants among the Southern Temne. Two factors were chiefly responsible for this. The

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1. T.N. Goddard: The Handbook of Sierra Leone, p.163, and Sierra Leone Protectorate Handbook (1955), p.52.

first was that the European Companies and the big Krio merchants tended to confine themselves mostly to particular stages of marketing and distribution where they could operate on a large scale. Such centres before 1900 were the riverhead trading posts, and after that date, they included the railway stations. In the case of the Syrian traders, in addition to operating at such centres, they would also penetrate into the further interior of the Southern Temne Country as shopkeepers, retailers, hawkers, lorry and launch transport operators, in which activities they would hire the services of 'selling boys and girls,' whereby seriously underselling the big Krio merchants. By helping the Syrian in such trade activities, the Southern Temne also improve their economy.

The second factor which made the Syrians dominate the trade among the natives of the Protectorate was their endurance. van der Laan has noted, in this regard, that

"The primary quality of the Lebanese enterprise has been its continuity. For many Sierra Leoneans, the typical Lebanese is the man who has run a particular shop for as long as he can remember. In terms of operations, location, and environment, his continuity is taken for granted. "The Lebanese trader has shown endurance and tenacity, and his optimism has carried him through bad years... But the continuity was not at all a result of virtue. A Lebanese and his family normally has no alternative to sticking out. He could not return to Lebanon, either because he had no money or because he was loath to admit his failures." 1

Such a description must be true because, by their background history, the Syrians who arrived in Sierra Leone were poor people and had

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1. H.L. van der Laan: The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone, p.225, Referred to in M. Hanna. "The Lebanese in West Africa: 2" West Africa No. 2141 (April 26, 1958) p.393.

depended mainly on the trade with the natives, for their survival. An additional reason would be that as a people who had been suppressed by their Turkish overlords forcing them to live in remote rural areas and villages as mere struggling peasants, they would not find sticking in remote places in Sierra Leone too difficult to endure, especially when it would be for the purpose of gaining trade. The Southern Temne in particular, must be impressed by the endurance of such 'white men' and be willing to accommodate and embrace them. Such attitude of endurance and tenacity of the Syrians was in fact, advantageous to the overall economic development of the Protectorate during the early decades of British colonial administration in Sierra Leone, as a whole.

But the Syrians did not get it all that rosy in the Protectorate. In addition to the many social and trade set-backs which they had to encounter and which they only managed to survive through their endurance even in the midst of extreme discouragement, they would sometimes be faced with hostilities. The greatest of these hostilities came in 1919 when they were attacked and their shops looted by the natives. These hostilities commonly referred to as 'anti-Syrian riots' stemmed from Freetown, and their origin was the political and economic situation at the time.

The second decade of the twentieth century was a period of political and economic turmoil in the British Empire occasioned by the events of World War I (1914-18), and Sierra Leone, being already under the British colonial rule, could not escape such confusion. In Sierra Leone, most of the men recruited for service in the army came from the Protectorate. In addition many youths flocked to Freetown



to work as servants and labourers in the military establishments. The immediate result of this was the draining of the manpower needed to work in the up-country farms, the unfortunate outcome of which was to be experienced at the turn of the decade. This war in which many European nations were involved had two main camps - Britain, France and Russia on the one; and Germany and Austria, on the other camp. This war was also fought in the Middle East, East and West Africa, and the men recruited in the Sierra Leone Protectorate were sent to serve as carriers for the British troops fighting in East Africa and the Middle East. Some of them were sent to the German Colony of Cameroon, south of Nigeria, to help defeat the Germans in that Colony. For this reason, the 1914-18 World War is referred to in Sierra Leone among the Temne, as 'KAMARO WAR'<sup>1</sup> (Cameroon War). Freetown became the naval base for all the military engagements in West Africa. Many Natives were engaged in the works in the military barracks, and thus improved their economy.

When the war broke out in 1914, Government took security measures which created panic to secure food supplies among the populations. As the rush to buy and hoard rice began, the businessmen particularly the Syrians began to inflate the prices of both their foodstuffs and their goods. The Sierra Leone Weekly News of the 8th of August, 1914, reported that

"Owing to the scare of the failure of the food-stuffs in the city, prices rose high nearly 100 per cent within twenty-four hours. Paterfamilias

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1. Oral Traditions. See Notes 1-3, p.247.



moved from store to store to secure the necessities of life for their households and were glad to pay fancy prices for whatever they could get." 1

In order to ease off much of the suffering of the people, Government set up a Committee to regulate the food supplies and to control the prices of both imported and locally produced foodstuffs. But as Cox-George has noted,<sup>2</sup> the scheme of the committee was not comprehensive enough, as when it was implemented, it only resulted in the sharp increase of the prices of the imported foodstuffs while the terms of the native rice producers were made worse. The immediate result of this was the increase in the rice shortage and the blackmarketing of rice particularly by the Syrians. A corresponding result of this food and price control by the Government was that the wholesale traders or big companies including the Syrians profited more from the price increases; and conversely, the businesses of the petty and retail traders declined. In this regard, he has particularly noted that

"The control of prices was a factor leading to the transfer of wealth from the small man, the petty trader, to the wholesaler or large firms. Competition became more favourable to the large commercial houses, and this, together with such devices as the hiring of "selling girls" to retail their goods, helped them to undersell effectively the old class of African "merchants" or middlemen, and so hastened the decline of the latter." 3

The sufferers in this situation clearly included most of the Krio traders or middlemen. They also included the up-country petty traders,

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1. Sierra Leone Weekly News, August 8, 1914.
  2. N.A. Cox-George: Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience (Allen & Unwin, London, 1957) p.35.
  3. N.A. Cox-George: Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience, p.185.

who because of their small means, were incapable of coping with the new trade measures especially when they too were badly affected by the underselling activities of their own brothers and sisters, who were hired by the Syrians of Companies as "selling boys and girls." An additional result was that the few farmers up-country became discouraged by the low prices of their local foodstuffs, and lessened their agricultural activities, and thus intensified the famine among themselves. This situation continued throughout the war years, and it was these small petty traders and the up-country suffering masses that formed the bulk of the participants in the mid-1919 riots and agitations.

The scarcity of food supplies continued on to 1918 and prices continued to rise, and by 1919, the position became much more desperate. Two factors precipitated this. The year 1918 was bad for the up-country farmers. The early rains that year prevented them from burning their farms in preparation for the sowing season. This condition was still worsened by the second factor namely, the influenza epidemic which affected so many people that year. According to Temne traditions,<sup>1</sup> the victims would vomit or feel very sick. In Temne, the word for vomit is 'WOOKA', and so, this influenza was called 'AN WOOKA' or 'AN HOOKA.'<sup>2</sup> It killed many people and most of those who survived were too weak physically to engage even in swamp rice planting. The general result of this was very poor rice harvest and the consequent severe famine that badly hit even the remotest villages up-country, the following year - that is, 1919.

There were also social factors which helped to prepare the ground for the disturbances in 1919. The most important of this was the income gap between "the relatively privileged professional classes

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1-3, p.247.

2. Ibid. AND my personal knowledge of the Temne Language.

and the wage earners."<sup>1</sup> This was created by the wage inflation from 1917. The employees of the Government and Commercial establishments especially their numerous clerks were badly affected by this inflation. The Government employees were however, relieved of their hardship by the war bonus which was granted them at the close of the war - and that is, after 1918.<sup>2</sup> This preferential treatment of the workers was objected to by the workers who did not benefit from the war bonus scheme. The vast majority of the dissatisfied were daily-wage men, most of whom were in fact, up-country men employed in Freetown and the large establishments in the Protectorate. The dissatisfaction of these men was also a noteworthy momentum for the 1919 riots.

Addressing the Legislative Council on the riots situation, on August 1919, Governor Wilkinson vividly pointed out the socio-economic factors which were in fact, the causes of all the troubles in the country as a whole that year. In his view,

"The year 1919 has been one of much distress. The early rains of last year had hindered the clearing of the farms: the Influenza epidemic had interfered with the harvesting of the crop. The shortage of rice been the main feature of the current year. There was famine; and there were riots... Our taxation... weighs more heavily on the poor. Export duties and railway freights fall ultimately on the producer. The tax-payer in this case is the inhabitant of the Protectorate who collects and prepares palm-produce for the market; he represents, in fact, the very poorest section of the community. And it is unfortunate that while the price of all imported commodities had risen enormously during the war, the price of palm oil and palm kernels had been kept at pre-war level: and this to some extent at least by direct state control.

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1. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900 - 1945 (Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1973), p.205.

2. Ibid.

The peasantry of the Protectorate have suffered severely. I do not wish to minimise the claims of others to some compensation for the increased cost of living: but unless economy is observed we shall only be lessening the troubles of the wealthier classes by throwing increased burdens on the poorer....

"In the Colony the war has seen great changes. The use of Freetown as a naval base led to great demand for casual labour.... That special demand has now ceased. Many men who were attracted to the port by the prospect of high pay have been thrown out of employment. It is to this element of the population - now become a dangerous element - that we owe the prevailing unrest...." 1

In addition to the socio-economic factors that led to the anti-Syrian riots, there seemed to be hidden grievances nursed by some Africans against the Syrians, and which were later highlighted in the petitions. Although the petitions were organized by the Krio elite, the petitioners included some Chiefs and Headmen,<sup>2</sup> illustrating the fact that the antipathy towards the Syrians was already beginning to be felt among the Protectorate elite. These, with some Krio elite were evidently among the African merchants or traders who were resenting the commercial dominance of the Syrians, who had overshadowed them in business especially in the retail trade and the trade on the local produce. As petitioners, they also accused the Syrians of "forming rings and combines by which prices of produce and merchandise were forced up, and of employing local women to capture the trade."<sup>3</sup> Finally, they accused the Syrians of sexual proclivities, of seducing

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1. PRO;C0267/582. Address of Governor Wilkinson to the Legislative in August, 1919. Quoted by Langley in Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945, pp.209-210.
  2. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945, p.206.
  3. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism, p.208.



school girls, and of arrogance.<sup>1</sup> This last but one accusation, although only emotional, could easily be used as propaganda campaign to attract the populace, especially the natives who laid much value on their young daughters, against the Syrians. These emotional grievances helped to kindle the grievances arising from the commercial competition, and set the scene for the riots in 1919.

The year 1919 was a year of riots indeed. Three in number, they were all started within the same week and were a connected chain of events. They were the Railway Workers Strike in July 14; the Public Works Department Workers Strike in July 15; and the Anti-Syrian Riots in July 18.

The first two strikes were staged by the labourers who were mostly daily-wage workers. Their general demand was that they too should benefit from the war bonus scheme. They argued that

"While their wages were calculated on a daily rate ranging among technical staff from 3ds. to 5s., and among labourers from 1s. to 3s. per day, they were in fact paid monthly, were in permanent government employment, and that their aggregate salary was equal to that of some of the clerical grades who had received a war bonus while they (the workers) were excluded. They also claimed that they belonged, 'for the most part to the same social class as that from which the clerical staff is recruited, and that their exclusion from the war bonus scheme brings them into contempt with their more fortunate brothers in the clerical branch.'" 2

They also cogently argued that they were all subjected to the same economic strains as any of the well placed government officials.

These arguments seemed to be echoed by all the rest of the daily-wage

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1. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism, 1900-1945, p.2-8.

2. Ibid., p.205.



workers in all the departments throughout the Colony and Protectorate, for they too, being hard hit by the inflated prices also wanted a war bonus - and these two strikes were enough events to precipitate the further trouble - namely, the anti-Syrian riots.

The Anti-Syrian riots broke out in July 18, 1919, and lasted over a month.<sup>1</sup> During the riots, attacks were made on the shops and houses of the Syrian traders and other merchants in Freetown because it was believed that it was they who had bought all the rice and stored it to sell at inflated prices in times of scarcity. The Syrians were badly looted and much damage was done on their properties. When the riots began in Freetown Governor Wilkinson thought that "the Protectorate natives... were in no sense anti-Syrian."<sup>2</sup> But this statement was soon to be doubted when the riots spread into the Protectorate. In the South, the Syrians in the main trading stations of Moyamba, Kangahun, Mano, Bauya, Makump, Bo and Bonthe were badly looted.<sup>3</sup> In the north, all the Syrian traders along the Atlantic coast and the Scarcies areas down to the mouth of the Sierra Leone River were severely looted. In the Southern Temne Country in particular, the centres involved were all those on the Port Loko Creek and the Rokel River. These included the towns of Rokuppr, Pepel, Port Loko, Rothumba, Gbabai, Magbeni, Foredugu, Mahera, Magbele, Rokel, Rokon, Makontheh; Songo town and Mabang on the railway

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1. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945, p.207.
  2. PRO;C0267/588. Wilkinson to Secretary of State, November 13, 1920.
  3. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945, p.206.

line.<sup>1</sup> In these places,<sup>2</sup> their shops were looted and merchandise cleared, their stores of rice broken into and the contents stolen away; some of their houses were demolished and many of them had to be rescued by the Chiefs themselves before the Government could intervene.

These anti-Syrian riots did not however, seem to spread into Yoniland, and in fact, Yoni traditions<sup>3</sup> reveal that some of the Syrians who fled from the Mende railway towns of Magbenka, Bauya, Makorewo, and Moyamba took refuge to the Yoni railway towns of Ronietta, Roruks, Makonkary and Yonibana, and were given shelter by their brothers and the Chiefs. After the riots, some of these refugees did not return to their former stations in the Mende Country but stayed in Yoni where they started business by assisting their brothers. The increase of the Syrian traders in Yoniland helped to promote the economy of that country, and in this way, the Yoni became the beneficiaries of the anti-Syrian riots of 1919.

Throughout the Temne country, the message was quickly circulated that Government did not want the Syrians anymore in Sierra Leone and

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4. 1.76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom	3. 2.76
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	8. 4.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 3.76
Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom,	23. 3.76
Pa Alhaji Wusman Banba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23. 3.76
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	20. 3.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18. 4.76

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Kapprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76
Pa Alimamy Follah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76
Pa Bockarie Follah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22. 1.76

that they must be forcibly driven away by all means.<sup>1</sup> Langley, quoting the Krio report, says that "Government nor gree for Syrians to be here"<sup>2</sup> (that is, Government does not want the Syrians to be in Sierra Leone anymore). This Krio statement thus coincides with the version given by the Temne oral traditional accounts. But these statements were mere anti-Syrian propaganda to inflame many people to join the riots which they succeeded in doing; for after the riots Government compensated the Syrians and gave them greater security.

It should however, be noted that the Krio traders in the Temne Country and in some other parts of the Protectorate were not attacked. This gives the strong suspicion as to whether the Krios were not the instigators of the anti-Syrian riots in the Protectorate. This is difficult to prove indeed as no native was available to give evidence that this was the case. It is more likely to believe that the Krios, in one way or another, did encourage these attacks on the Syrians in the Protectorate, since they were the organizers of those in Freetown. As a further proof of this, Reverend Max Gorvie has revealed that during these anti-Syrian riots in the Protectorate, "the Krio traders appealed to African solidarity, persuading the Natives that they were all one people and popularizing the ditty "We all nar wan Konko".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Makora, Koya Chiefdom	3.2. 76
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2. 76
Pa Foday Kamara, Magboni, Koya Chiefdom	18. 2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Maramka Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masemra Chiefdom,	23. 2.76

2. J. Ayodele Langley: Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945, p.209.

3. Ibid., p.210, Note 50 - Quoted in Michael Banton: Urbanization in Sierra Leone (Social Science Research Centre, University of Edinburgh, 1954), p.122.

This is a Krio expression although the word 'Konko' is Temne meaning, 'a very small and tight room'<sup>1</sup> inserted into the expression. The whole expression therefore simply means, 'We are all faced with the same situation.' The ditty was probably meant to arouse the sympathy of the Natives, particularly the Temne who were in the position to feel the true image of the term 'Konko.'

Throughout the general confusion of July 1919, the rioters seemed to attach three meanings to the term 'bonus.' To the clerical grades of the Government department, who were the beneficiaries, 'bonus' was merely a reward for their services during the war and was aimed at alleviating their economic strains caused by the post-war inflation. This was in fact, the original colonial meaning of the term. To the daily-wage workers who were excluded from the war bonus scheme and who staged the riots and did much of the looting in Freetown, their loot or plunder was their own bonus or reward which they felt justified to take for themselves. It is however, interesting to note that some of the graded clerks joined the riots, although it was they who benefited from the war bonus scheme. In this way, they gained both from the official war bonus scheme and from their own looting.

In the Protectorate and among the Southern Temne in particular, the term bonus simply means, 'booty' or 'plunder', probably specifically referred to the looted property of the Syrians, hence they describe the riots as 'ə RFə RA əŋ BONɔ S' (the war of the

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1. My personal knowledge of the Temne language.



bonus),<sup>1</sup> and did not seem to have any other meaning attached to it.

One then wonders whether the Southern Temne actually disliked the Syrians among them, and that was the reason why they attacked them and looted their property. The answer to this question would be in the negative for they had lived together with the Syrians in social intimacy generated by socio-economic ties for two decades. One is therefore, left to assume, and probably correctly too, that the participation of the Southern Temne in the anti-Syrian riots was a resurrection of their general propensity to loot - a very strong generating motive for professional warfare which is a very common characteristic of nineteenth century Southern Temne history. For after all, professional warfare was only seriously checked with the defeat of the Yoni in the Yoni Expedition of 1887, and finally ended with the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896, and of course, after the Hut Tax War in 1898 - and the spirit of warfare for the purpose of looting would still be looming in their minds. The Southern Temne who were involved might have seen in the anti-Syrian riots, an opportunity to revive their old practice of looting and plundering wealthy traders through warfare. And this was particularly

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomeporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14. 1.76
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	8. 4.76
Pa Kappr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	8. 4.76
Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Makontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 2.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76



so when they seemed to be encouraged and aroused by the consequences of the post-war economic depression all over the country, and their desire kindled by the anti-Syrian propaganda from Freetown. Thus, Governor Wilkinson's statement that "the Protectorate Natives were in no sense anti-Syrian",<sup>1</sup> was after all, virtually correct when applied to their relationship with the Southern Temne people. The truth of this statement was later confirmed by the commercial activities of these Syrians in the succeeding decades. After the riots in 1919, and a state of normality had been restored, it was the Syrians that brought back the trade to the Rokel River area from which it had shifted to the railway trading regions of Songo Town, Rotifunk, and Yoniland, after 1900.

On the whole therefore, the Syrians can be considered as the main vehicles for spreading trade with its attendant western values inland after 1900. The reason for this conclusion is that it is but realistic to point out that since the Krio traders even as late as the first two decades of the twentieth century, were too few and had not learnt the skill to deeply associate themselves with the natives in order to extend trade into the remote areas of the vast Protectorate, the economic development of the country would have been much slower were it not for the trade activities of the Syrians.

Government educational development programmes were not implemented in the Protectorate before 1900. Throughout the nineteenth century, education in the Protectorate was only sponsored by the

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1. PRP;C0267/588. Despatch No.75, Wilkinson to Secretary of State, November 13, 1920.

missionaries. In Southern Temne Country, these were the C.M.S., A.M.E., the American Baptist, and the U.B.C. (later E.U.B.). The latter was the last to enter the Temne Country when they had their first primary school at Rokon in Masimra in 1898 and Makondu in Yoni Mabanta in 1900. In the South, the missionaries who operated there were scattered by the Hut Tax War of 1898 in which some were killed at Rotifunk, Taiama, and Tikonko - a situation quite unlike what prevailed in the Temne Country where no missionaries were disturbed. After the war however, those who had fled returned to the Protectorate and opened schools. In the Southern Temne Country, only the U.B.C. that opened new primary schools in Yoni at Ronietta (1905), Roruks, Yonibana, and Petifu (1912).<sup>1</sup>

During the first two decades of the twentieth century four educational institutions were opened which directly benefited the Protectorate. These were the Albert Academy (1904), Harford School for Girls (1904), Bo Government School (1906) and Njala Agricultural College in 1911. The first two were founded by the E.U.B. Mission. Albert Academy in Freetown, was for the education of the boys and its curriculum included such manual activities as carpentry and printing. Harford School was opened at Moyamba in the Mende Country in the south, for the education of girls, and its curriculum included domestic economy subjects. This was the first attempt at female education in the Protectorate.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	5.4.76
Rev. W.B. Claye, U.M.C. Parsonage, Yonibana Yoni Mamella	7.4.76
Rev. J.F. Tholley, U.M.C. Shool, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella <sup>Ch</sup>	7.4.76
Rev. T.S. Bangura, U.C.C. Freetown	10.4.76

Bo Government School and Njala Agricultural College were Government institutions. Bo School was opened by Governor Probyn in 1905, for the education of sons and nominees of Chiefs. Aptly describing its aims Fyfe says that

"It is a curious amalgam of educational theories, applied in the context of Indirect Rule. Through it runs the implicit determination to prevent the boys from getting the kind of education the Colony schools provided; they are not to become like Creoles. Its promoters hoped instead to turn out future chiefs who would be contented with their lot - educated enough to introduce better ways of farming into their chiefdoms, but not educated enough to become senior officials or the leaders of any kind of national political movement." 1

This description clearly shows that the official policy of the Government was not to give the Protectorate people a European type of education, but an education which would help them improve their surroundings, rule their chiefdoms better, and keep the country quiet. This was because of the fear that educated people were often not satisfied with situations in their country, and as such, would demand new governments, in which case trouble might be generated.

Following the aims of the Bo School prospectus, Government decided to train boys to develop their lands in the line of agriculture. Njala Agricultural Experimental College was therefore, opened in 1911, and was extended in 1920 to train teachers who would teach agriculture in primary schools.<sup>2</sup> Although these four institutions were opened in the south, they also served the north and Temne Country in particular.

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1. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.304.

2. C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone, p.166.

It is however, important to note that these scanty efforts to give Western education to the Southern Temne people remained unimproved throughout the remaining years of the first half of the twentieth century. The result was that the vast majority of the peoples remained totally unaffected by European-styled education, and continued to be educated in the old ways - that is, by their parents at home, in the cultural societies, and in the case of Muslims, in the Koranic schools.

With the improved administration, commercial and educational activities, British Colonial policy was, by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, to be seen to be at full swing in the Protectorate, and the Chiefs were in complete cooperation with the Government Officials in the field and no more rebellion was to be heard of. But this cooperation and pacific situation should not be calculated as a sign of satisfaction on the part of the Chiefs, for the new administration. Of course, some of the Chiefs, particularly the 'friendly ones' who had cooperated with the Government during the Hut Tax War, would tend to be satisfied because of some reward they might have been given. Among the Southern Temne, notable examples of such 'friendly' Chiefs were Charles Smart of Mahera, Alimamy Manika Dumbuya (later Bai Kompa Dumbuya), both of Koya Chiefdom; Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III of Marampa Town, and Bai Suba An Bolt of Magbele, both of Marampa Chiefdom; Fula Mansas Kafoim, Kamanda, An Sapor, Ka Bop, An Soila, and Gbabere, in Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom; and Bai Seboras Kama, Ka Na Serry, and Thelleh II, all of Yoni Mamella Chiefdom. These Chiefs were regarded as 'loyal' by the Government, and were thus highly favoured.



But some of the Chiefs remained dissatisfied. Bai Farma II of Koya and Bai Simra Ponko of Masimra were examples of such Chiefs among the Southern Temne. They were in consequence, declared 'disloyal' and were therefore, deposed, and their places taken by 'friendly' citizens. The existence of such 'disloyal' Chiefs is obviously a pointer to the fact that the Chiefs were never as a whole, in favour of any foreign domination. But they had no alternative, but to accept the new administration, because, they were now a defeated people and therefore, subordinate rulers under the British Government.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE KOYA COUNTRY

The extent of the Koya Country underwent various changes up<sup>1</sup> to the second decade of the nineteenth century. Koya traditions recall that the whole of the Colony peninsula, the Banana Islands, the whole of the present Ribí Chiefdom were once part of Koyaland; but that the "White Men gradually took it away from the people through treaties and wars".

2

Beginning with the peninsula, it was ceded to the British Government on June 11, 1787, by King Tom, a Temne ruler, for the settlement of the "Black Poor" or "Free Community". King Tom himself, Chief Pa Bongee and Queen Yammacouba put their marks to this treaty of cession. Although there was no king in Koya at that time, the regent,<sup>3</sup> Nemgbana Farma, whom the British called 'King Naimbana', was in full control of the entire country. King Tom must therefore, be a sub-chief of Nemgbana, and so, had no right under Temne customary law, to have concluded such a treaty without authority from his superior.<sup>4</sup> Hence on August 22, 1788, another treaty was concluded between Nemgbana Farma ('King Naimbana') and his principal sub-chiefs on the one hand, and the British Government, on the other. By the following addendum

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. PRO.CO267/25. Treaty of June 11, 1787, enclosed in Governor T.P. Thompson's Despatch No. 6 of February 1809. Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp. 112-113.

3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1 above.

4. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London (1788-1856) Vol. II, p. 265. Treaty No. 1 of August 22, 1788.

to this treaty, the treaty of June 11, 1787, was repudiated:-

"This is to certify that all to whom these presents may come, that whose names are hereto subscribed maketh oath that the purchase of the land etc. made by Captain Thompson was not (to our certain knowledge) valid, it having been purchased from people who have no authority to the same."<sup>1</sup>

By this treaty, the ceded land extended from Frenchman's Bay (but by the treaty, changed to St. George's Bay in honour of King George III the then reigning King of Britain) along the Sierra Leone River as far as Gambia Island, and 20 miles inland, or south of the Sierra Leone River.

On July 10, 1807, a portion of the territory to the westward of Sierra Leone (i.e. King Tom's Point etc.) was ceded.<sup>2</sup> Twelve years later, on May 25, 1819, the ceded area was extended as far as Marporto<sup>3</sup> and Ro-Bomp (the present Hastings and Waterloo) on the Bunce River. By the peace treaty of 1807, the Koya People had in fact, acknowledged the fact that the land, now considerably enlarged through conquest, which they had granted to the colonists on arrival, had inadvertently been alienated forever. Indeed, such humiliation embittered them, but they were powerless to stage any further resistance towards the Colony. They thus decided to remain peaceful towards the Colony, and formed a delegation to pledge their loyalty to the Administration, which was led by King Tom who had earlier been deposed on the request of the Administration from his position of ruler of the watering place. Colonial Office seemed rather dubious over the sincerity of the Chiefs, for King Tom himself had made a similar visit just before the attack on the Colony in 1801.

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1865) Vol. II, p. 265. Treaty No. 1 of August 22, 1788.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol. II, p. 272. Treaty No. 3 of 10th & 13th July, 1807.
  3. Ibid. Treaty No. 6 of May 25, 1819, p. 80.

The fourth move was to include the Banana Islands, opposite Cape Shilling.<sup>1</sup> These Islands had, during the period of the slave trade, been leased by the then Koya Chief to the descendants of an English Merchant and slave dealer called Corker (later Caulker) who occupied them together with the Plantain Island, for many years. A quarrel over the ownership of these islands arose between them and the family of another slave dealer called Cleveland. At first, the Clevelands were victorious and drove the Caulkers out of the islands. After several years, the Caulkers mustered an army which utterly defeated the Clevelands and succeeded in ousting them from the Banana and Plantain Islands as well as from the factories on the Ribí River. The Caulkers then occupied these islands for many years; but in 1820, during the administration of Governor Charles MacCarthy and Captain Alexander Grant, the Caulkers ceded the Islands to the British Government<sup>2</sup> for a yearly payment of £52.10.0. The Caulkers might have taken this line of action to end the quarrel over the ownership of the islands, between them and the Koya, who were already being harrassed by the Colony Government over this question of cessions and annexations. Thus from this time onwards, the Banana Islands ceased to be part of the Koya Country. But the Koya people were far from being pleased over these cessions, and so placed a curse on the chieftaincy for the loss of the peninsula.<sup>3</sup>

The reduction of Koya Country by the Colony Government still continued up to the second half of the nineteenth century. Owing to the quarrel between the Colonists that settled beyond Waterloo and

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1. A. Montagu, The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol. II, p. 283. Treaty No. 8 of July 21, 1820.
  2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 283. Treaties Nos. 8 & 9 of 1820.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 297.

the Koya farmers, the Colony Government ceded in 1861, a portion of Koya territory "measuring 10 miles in width from Waterloo and Calmont Creek to the Quiah River or Creek, and 16 miles in length from the River Sierra Leone to the Ribee River or thereabout".<sup>1</sup>

By the 1880's therefore, T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Secretary for Native Affairs, could easily attempt a definition of the extent of Koya Country, that

"The Quiah Country at one time comprised the Banana Islands, the peninsula of Sierra Leone, and the western bank of the Sierra Leone River as far as Rosoloh Creek, which separates it from Masimerah Country. It being bounded on the north by the Sierra Leone River, south by the Camaranca, which empties itself into the Bompeh River, east by the Rosoloh Creek, and west by the Atlantic Ocean." <sup>2</sup>

This definition is confirmed by tradition that the Kamaranka River was the original boundary between Koya and Sherbro, and that Ribí country<sup>3</sup> was once part of Koya territory, before the British annexed it to the Colony in 1860. In the case of the Rosoloh Creek, the statement<sup>4</sup> corresponds to the Koya traditions. But this has been opposed by Masimra traditions which put the Mabiri stream as the original boundary between the two countries, and that the Rosoloh Creek boundary was only later fixed by Governor Rowe because of his dislike for Bai Simra Kamal. The Masimra people continued to oppose this

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1. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol.III, p. 266. Treaty No. 1 of August 19, 1861.
  2. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes. Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity. C.O. 806/297. (1887), p. 31.
  3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
  4. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.



Rosoloh Creek boundary until it was finally confirmed in 1888 to punish Bai Simra Kamal for supporting the Yoni during the Yoni Expedition in 1887. Koya Country was also extended into Yoni territory as compensation for supporting the Administration during this expedition. By the 1890's therefore, Koya Country, whose area had now been reckoned at about 1,300 square miles had had its boundaries almost permanently demarcated by natural phenomena - to be bounded on the north by the Mabiri Stream and the Rokel River, on the east by the Rosoloh Creek which separates it from the Masimra Country and the Yoni Country, on the south by the Ribi Country, and on the west by the Bunce Creek and the Colony.

It should be noted however, that although the strip of Koyaland which had been ceded to the British Crown in 1861, had been retroceded in 1872<sup>1</sup> and that the boundaries had been so fairly well demarcated by the 1890's, British influence continued to prevail in Koya Country throughout the nineteenth century. Bai Kompa Bomboli was heard to declare to the Administrator, Quayle-Jones during the meeting at Rothumba in 1892, "I am the servant of the Queen put here<sup>2</sup> to look after the country for her,

Referring to the government of the country, Koya traditions state that Koya originally never had a king or supreme ruler, but that they were segmentary in all their political arrangements; that the Koya

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1. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol. V, p. 334. Treaty No. 72 of February 26, 1872.
  2. C.O. 267/394, No. 100. Quayle-Jones to Lord Knutsford, 3.3.92.



Temne were themselves too disunited to form a Government; and that the first Farmas who were the first Kings were not Temne but Mani, whom they identify as Mandinka in origin. It was this lack of unity that made it easy for the Temne to be subdued by the Manes probably about the mid-sixteenth century. Sayers<sup>1</sup> believes that the Mande Conquest ~~was~~ doubtless facilitated by what he describes as "the anarchic and fiercely independent nature of the Temne himself who does not co-operate even with his own people." "They prove easy to rule", Sayers continues, "because easy to divide". The Mande wars of conquest were very much welcomed by the Portuguese because they made for good business in the Atlantic Slave trade which had just begun. So that although the Susu and Fula now ceased to come to the watering-place to trade, but took their commodities instead to the northern rivers such as Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez, trade did not stop. Paradoxically, it increased, "for the Portuguese bought those who had been taken prisoner. They followed the invading Manes up the coast, guided by the fires from the burning towns".<sup>2</sup>

The traditions<sup>3</sup> say that there were rulers at the Marung area (present area of Freetown or simply the peninsula) called Pa Tham, Pa Yami, Pa Demba and Pa Foro. The traditions however, cannot tell whether these rulers were Temne or not. The English called the first two as King Tom, and King Jimmy. They were the revenue collectors of the principal ruler of the country. Zachary Macaulay writes of 'King Tom' as follows:-

1. E.F. Sayers. "Notes on Clan and Family Names common in the Area inhabited by the Temne Speaking People". Sierra Leone Studies O.S. No. X (December, 1927), p. 34.

2. C. Fyfe: A Short History of Sierra Leone ... p. 8.

3. Oral Traditions - See Note 3 p.273

"Bana whom you remember was in England in 1794 came here ... this morning. He said he was deputed by King Firama and all at Robaga, to tell me that a King was now appointed for this part of the River and that my friend Pa Kokilly to whom they had given the name of King Tom was the man. They decided particularly to know whether I approved of their choice. I answered in the affirmative on which he said that King Firama had commissioned him to ask of me some token of my approbation."<sup>1</sup>

This must be a new King Tom for the former who was involved in the treaty of 1787<sup>2</sup> had already died. An interesting point to note here is that right from the early days of the Settlement or Colony in Sierra Leone, the English had begun to be consulted as landlords of the Colony Peninsula area,<sup>3</sup> on the election of the rulers of Koya, and in this case, the approval of Zachary Macaulay was sought.

The Koya, like most of the Southern Temne, trace the beginning of their kingship from Farma Thami who their traditions say, crowned Pa Konko London (Ka Konko) as the first King of Koya, giving him all the regalia of Kingship; that he was the last Temne King to be crowned, and as such, Bai Farma emptied the 'Basket of Blessings' on his head.<sup>4</sup>

G.W. James,<sup>5</sup> District Commissioner, Port Loko, has also noted this point which he must have also got from oral traditions.

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1. Zachary Macaulay: Journals ... (On Microfilm, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.) under date, December 9, 1797) p.3.
  2. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ... p. 112.
  3. V.R. Dorjahn & C. Fyfe: "Landlord and Stranger: Change in the Tenancy Relations in Sierra Leone" - Journal of African History, Vol. III, No. 3 (Edited by R.A. Oliver & J.D. Fage, C.U.P. 1962), p. 395-6.
  4. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.1.76.
  5. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law, with Special Reference to the History and Customs of the Koya Chiefdom - Sierra Leone Studies, Vol. XXII (1939), p. 113.

This tradition cannot however, be correct, for Rev. Schlenker's tradition about Farma Thami says that this character lived more than <sup>1</sup> three hundred generations ago. That is, Farma Thami lived more than 900 years before the 1840's when Schlenker recorded his tradition. It is thus impossible for Pa Konko London to have been crowned by Farma Thami, and then lived up to the early 1820's when he was <sup>2</sup> receiving stipends from the British Government. Pa Konko London could therefore, have been crowned by another Farma or some important elder in Koya, or from a neighbouring Temne Country that had already enjoyed monarchy, and the occasion ascribed to Farma Thami, to give it dignity, and the new king, authority.

The same Koya traditions say that Pa Konko London did not reign for a long time but relinquished the crown to his eldest son, Pa Mara Pethru while he remained in his honorary position as "King-Maker". He then crowned several Koya Kings before he died. He was thus the father of the Koya Kings 'PA KOM PA' (Father of the Father). In Temne, 'PA' is father; 'KOM' is to give birth to; hence the title of the Koya Kings, 'PA KOMPA'. Pa Mara Pethru thus became the first Bai Kompa with the title of Bai Kompa Pethru.

The fact of Pa Konko London being a king maker in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be ascertained from various written sources. Describing a meeting held at Fort Thornton in Freetown after the peace settlement concluded at Robis to end the hostilities between the Koya Temne and the settlers, Captain Charles Bullen wrote to the Admiralty "... their king maker, Pa London assured

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1. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ... pp.19-22.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1857-81) Vol. II, pp. 280-283. Treaty No. 6 of May 25, 1820.

the Governor, Council and myself that they should be very happy to be at peace with the Colony".<sup>1</sup> Concerning the same war Governor Day informs us that "... I wrote to Pa London who remained neutral during the last attack and who is the headman in the Quiah River, offering peace to Farima and Tom - this was well received and he promised to speak to them on the subject".<sup>2</sup>

Pa Konko London was one of the leading representatives in the treaties of peace and cessions concluded between the Colony and the Koya rulers during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. For instance, he put his mark to the treaty of 1807,<sup>3</sup> treaty for the cession of Robis and Ro-Copra (present Hastings and Waterloo area),<sup>4</sup> in 1819; and of the cession of the Banana Islands in 1820.<sup>5</sup> The other Koya dignitaries who put their marks to these treaties were, King Farma or 'King Bana Firama' or 'Pa Naimbaner', Momodu Bundu and Pa Katina. By the treaty of 1807, King Farma was entitled to 100 bars annually;<sup>6</sup> but by the treaty of 1819, in addition to King Farma's entitlement, Pa Konko London was to receive 50 bars annually. By the treaty of 1820, the same Pa Konko London was to receive 100 bars annually

1. PRO. Admiralty Records Series of Captain's letters - ADM/1527. Captain Charles Bullen to Admiralty, 12.2.1802.
2. PRO. War Office Records - WO1/352. Zacharay Macaulay to Sullivan, September 5, 1803, enclosing extracts from letter by Governor Day dated July 8, 1803.
3. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1857-81) Vol. II, pp. 272-73. Treaty No. 3 of 10th & 13th July, 1807.
4. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1857-81) Vol. II, pp. 280-83. Treaty No. 6 of May 25, 1819.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 183-84. Treaty No. 8 of July 21, 1820.
6. Ibid. p. 284. Later stipend lists show payments for Hastings and Waterloo as follows:- Colonial Secretary's Entry Book 23.6.1825. - (Sierra Leone Archives).  
Tom Kantina; ib 16.9.1851. Pa Konko London.  
C.O. 267/320. Keats 19; 18.2.1873, encl stipend list - King London  
C.O. 267/340. Streeten 221; 22.9.1880, encl stipend list - Pa King  
C.O. 267/372. Hay, 7.11.88, encl stipend list - Pa Runia  
This stipend was not collected for seven years.  
C.O. 267/418. Caulfield 156; 2.8.1895, encl stipend list - Dick Bashia.



while Thomas Caulker, 50 bars. Pa Konko London continued to receive these payments probably up to 1824, since by 1825, the recipient was Pa Katina who Koya traditions say <sup>1</sup> was his brother. This suggests that Pa Konko London must have died by 1824 or very early in 1825. These treaties reveal the fact that Pa Konko London was not only a historical character but also a very outstanding personality among the Koya aristocracy - that he could even sign important treaties with King Farma, or his deputy Pa Nemgbana and his important sub-chief King Tom; and that above all, he and his people should be awarded a special stipend. Treaty No. 8 of July 21, 1829, ceding the Banana Islands also shows that Pa Konko London was a prominent citizen of those islands, probably in the same way as the Caulkers.

<sup>2</sup>  
Pa Konko London, according to Koya traditions was originally called Fallah, but when he was taken to London on a special visit, by the English traders on his return home, his people called him 'Pa Konko London' by which name he remained to be commonly known for the remainder of his life. This visit could not have taken place before the 1670's when the English began to settle in the Sierra Leone River in a big way. Moreover, the visit could not have taken place in the second half of the eighteenth century since he lived only up to 1824 when he probably received his stipend for the last time, for the cession of Hastings and Waterloo, and the Banana Islands.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 4, p. 276.

2. Ibid.



Pa Konko London accumulated tremendous influence as a formidable warrior to defend his Koya people from their aggressive neighbours, and as the man whom the much revered 'Farma Thami' made the custodian of the sacred things of the Koya Kingship. He married many wives from among the daughters of prominent citizens, and had numerous children; so that he was not only the father of the Koya Kings but also the Koya People in general.

Having thus become the most important personality in Koya, Pa Konko London set forth to establish a political system which became a permanent feature of Koya Kingship organization and remained largely unaltered up to the present century.<sup>2</sup> In this political organization, with the consent of the leading citizens of the country particularly the Kamaras of Magbeni and his Koya Mabanta people, it was agreed that there should be a King (ᵀ KANDEH) to be styled 'PA KOMPA' or 'BAI KOMPA'.

According to Koya traditions, the King's supreme council of state should comprise the 'ᵀ Kande' himself, the Kapprr Kompa, the Nemgbana, Yan Bome Ruffa the head of the Ramena Society, the head of the Rokes, and the head of the warriors. The Kapprr Kompa should be chosen from among the King's uncles, and should always be resident in the King's compound and act as his chief adviser. The Nemgbana should be chosen from the Kamaras of Magbeni, who in fact, had long inhabited the Koya Country before the arrival of the Mabanta Temme in

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Ya Mama Bangura Foredu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Mabeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

which group Pa Konko London himself belonged. The Kompa, the Kaprr Kompa, and the Nemgbana should all be crowned and installed together the same day at Robacca, and the whole ceremony should last only a week - from Friday to Friday. They should, on installation, wear 'RUN HATS'<sup>1</sup> which had been given to him as presents by the English traders on his visit to London. This short period of confinement for a week was meant probably to prevent a situation which might cause the country to be without a ruler for a long time. This is a pointer to the fact that Koya was insecure and the leaders should not be kept in confinement for a long time so that they could be free to control events. The wearing of the 'RUN HATS' was probably meant to show the friendship of the Koya people and the English who were useful in providing hats and other goods. Such demonstration of friendship might also earn them more respect among their neighbours.

In their life time although the Nemgbana would in theory, be a sub-chief to the Kompa, in practice, both were co-rulers of the country, with the former ruling the lower while the latter, the upper part of the country. On the demise of the Kompa, the Nemgbana should rule the whole country until he died; then another Kompa would be crowned and installed together with his own Nemgbana and Kaprr Kompa. But if the Nemgbana should die before the Kompa, the latter should crown a new Nemgbana from among the Kamaras of Magbeni. Neither the Nemgbana nor the Kaprr Kompa, and definitely not the Kompa, should be

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1. 'RUN HATS' were felt hats embroidered with gold threads which the English traders used to give to the Coastal Kings.

deposed; and if that was done, it would be 'KOTHO' <sup>1</sup> on the crown, which might cause hardship on, or even the untimely death of any successor.

In the case of any succession, it was established that the sons of Pa Konko London should be crowned as the Kompas, and that his daughters should be the Queens and female Kapprrs; and that with the exception of the Kapprr Kompa, there should be no other male Kapprr in the Koya chiefly hierarchy. The male Kamaras of Magbeni were however, also made eligible to be crowned as Kompas.

The position of the Queens was further clearly defined. Bome Ruffa should be their head, to be followed by Bome Gbashia, Bome Posseh, Bome Bintha, Bome Warra, Bome Poro, Bome Koro, and Bome Baya. The eldest wife of the King should be the Bome Warra, who should care for him while in the Kantha, and with whom he should be crowned and installed together. As James has also noted, although there is no such thing as supreme female ruler among the Temne, nevertheless in Koya,

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1. 'KOTHO' or 'ə KOTHO' (Singular), and 'TOTHO' or 'ə TOTHO' (Plural). In Temne, 'KOTHO' has three different meanings:-
    - (a) A curse, as when a certain right is denied someone in a given situation, and he curses the person or persons who deny him of his right; or he curses the situation so that whoever that enjoys that right will suffer some misfortune.
    - (b) A swear to avenge a certain wrong which if not atoned, its effects will reflect on the offender, his descendants or successors, e.g. someone steals or borrows another man's property and refuses to confess, or apologise, or pay, as the case may be. The owner therefore, swears both the offender and his descendants. If this swear is not removed, it will have an adverse effect on the offender's offspring.
    - (c) A deliberate deviation from an established custom or practice or belief, which is punishable by some misfortune inflicted by the devils or spirits controlling that custom. E.G. If the crown belongs to the Kamaras and a Sesay snatches it by manoeuvring, it is believed to be 'KOTHO', and the devils controlling that crown will inflict some misfortune on the Sesay, his descendants or successors unless that 'Kotho' is removed. In all these cases, the result of the 'KOTHO' or 'TOTHO' is damnation. - My personal knowledge of Temne culture.

"It is frequently found among the Temne Chiefdoms that the rites attending the Paramount Chief's coronation cannot be carried out without the aid of a duly appointed female officer. The title of this officer is 'Bome Ruffa'. She is shut up with the chief in the Kanta bush from which the new chief emerges as a royal personage, having entered it as a humble citizen."<sup>1</sup>

2

Koya traditions say that the Bome Ruffa herself was an appointed officer with certain ceremonies, and her office was to perform certain of these ceremonies at the crowning of the chief.

In the question of the 'Roke', James has made interesting comments which could be commented upon. He has stated that "the crowning officer of the tribe, termed Oruk, among the Koya Temnes, has no power himself to appoint a new Chief, his duty is simply and solely to see that the coronation of the candidate presented to him by the elders of the chiefdom, who are presumed to be actuated by the voice of the people, is conducted with due rite and ceremonial". This statement is incorrect as far as Koya was concerned, where the crowning officers were Pa Konko London whom Captain Bullen describes as "their King Maker", and later the Queens and female Kapprrs headed by Bome Ruffa. However, as held by Hooker, Provincial Commissioner,

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1. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law, with Especial Reference to the history and Customs of the Koya Chiefdom" - Sierra Leone Studies - Vol. XXII (1939), p. 113.
  2. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.  
 Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom, 19.2.76.
  3. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law" ...p.114.
  4. PRO. ADM 1/1527. Cpt. Charles Bullen to Admiralty, 12.2.1802.
  5. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.
  6. R.S. Hooker. Notes on James ... p. 118.



Northern Province, and supported by Temne traditions,<sup>1</sup> in the other Southern Temne Chiefdoms the crowning officer is Pa Masim. In the absence of the Chief or on his death, the Pa Masim automatically becomes the regent and is called Pa Roke. "The Oruk (Pa Roke) remains in office until the completion of the crowning ceremonies of the new Chief, when he retires into private life, his place being taken by the new Kapprr Masim, who was elected and shut up in the Kanta with the new Chief."<sup>2</sup>

In Koya however, no Roke would act as regent on the death of the King. There were many Rokes who were in fact, merely the sons of the female heirs to the throne. In this chiefdom, the legitimate regent throughout its history, according to Pa Konko London's constitution, had always been the Nemgbana, who might or might not be crowned Paramount Chief without at the same time causing 'KOTHO'. He should however, legitimately rule the country until he died before a new Paramount Chief could be crowned and installed.

The sons of the Queens and of the female Kapprrs who should be the Rokes should form the council of the King's advisers, his doctors to cure him when he would be ill, and to be his mourners and who would bury him when he died.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75.
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	23. 2.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 3.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Koya Chiefdom,	18. 4.76.
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17. 1.76.
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	6. 4.76.
Pa Sheka Kamara, Masengbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	6. 4.76.
Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	6. 4.76.
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7. 4.76.
Pa Roke Kenke, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	10. 1.76.

2. R.S. Hooker, Notes on James ... p. 118.



The Ramena Society officials and the warriors were confirmed in their positions. The Ramena, as instituted by Farma Thami, should be the sacred society for the Koya kingship, whose membership should comprise only women, with the Queens and female Kapprrs forming its caste of officials. In the case of the warriors, they should be regularly retained at well established training camps and posted at strategic positions to check the infiltration of foreign troops into the country.

The King's revenue was given serious consideration. It should be raised by tributes and paid by all adult males throughout the country; wharf dues and presents; gifts and presents from the 'White Man', fines and levies, etc. All these payments from the people were in kind; and those from the 'White Man', in goods or merchandise. From this revenue, the Kompa, the Nemgbana, the Kapprrr Kompa, the Queens, and the Rokes should be maintained. This was indeed a mammoth political organisation, which should form the King's general council of state and which should fully participate in the selection of the new king in the event of a succession.

It should be recognised that Pa Konko London's political organization effectively safeguarded the security of his descendants in the highest offices of state in Koya. Obviously, he had succeeded in creating a royal family which might continue to dominate events throughout many generations. This is the structure of the Koya political system as it has existed up to the present day.

Such political acumen thus clearly earned Pa Konko London, the love and praise of his Koya people which they demonstrated by the following song always to be sung at all chiefly ceremonies such as the coronation, installation, and burial of Koya King or Chief.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,  
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,

14.1.76.  
31.1.76.

"Ka Konko kom alai - e  
 Yɔ ye Ka Konko kom alai;  
 U reke, u reke bɔthɔr - e?  
 Ka Konko kom alai;  
 A - a! yɔye Ka Konko kom alai;  
 Kɔnɔgbey gbey kɔnɔ I bɔthɔr - e - o."

TRANSLATION:-

Ka Konko the father of many  
 I say Ka Konko the father of many;  
 Whom do you love?  
 Ka Konko the father of many;  
 A - a! I say Ka Konko the father of many;  
 It is he that I dearly love.

This song would be sung with the accompaniment of music and dancing by all the assembled chiefs, their wives, children and followers. The first king thus created the first Ruling House namely, "The Bai Kompa Pethru Ruling House".<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by Bai Kompa Ke Kent,<sup>2</sup> who was his younger brother.

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the introduction and integration of the powerful Bunduka family into

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 285.

2. Ibid.

the Koya ruling aristocracy. According to Koya traditions,<sup>1</sup> the ancestor of this family, Pa Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu, had arrived in Koya before the arrival of the first English traders, as guest of Pa Nemgbana Farma of Magbeni and his Kamara people. By the time he arrived in Koya, he was already a powerful 'Mori Man' who could work wonders with his charms. He was first invited by Ngombu Smart from Mandinka Country to make charms for him, which country the latter had visited.<sup>2</sup> But while Smart remained at Bunce Island, Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu went to Koya and settled there.<sup>3</sup> He was thus hired by Pa Nemgbana Farma to help him win his wars with his neighbours, with his 'Mori Craft'. He was given a piece of land a few miles from Magbeni up the Rokel River, to settle, where he founded the town of Foredugu.<sup>4</sup> Pa Nemgbana Farma then gave him in marriage his daughter, Yan Bio Gbana,<sup>5</sup> who became the mother of Pa Momodu Bundu, Pa Kombo Bundu and Pa Lahai Bundu. A second wife was given him. This was Yan Digba Koya, daughter of Yan Bome Koro who lived at Gbabai in Lower Koya, and was the aunt of Pa Nemgbana Farma. The two women were therefore, cousins. Yan Digba Koya became the mother of Pa Bockarie Sailley. By the time he had had these children, he had become so important, that he was even known to the Colony Administrators, and Zachary Macaulay called him "Moriboondoo".<sup>6</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	30.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Ya Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. Ibid.

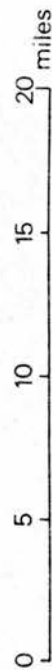
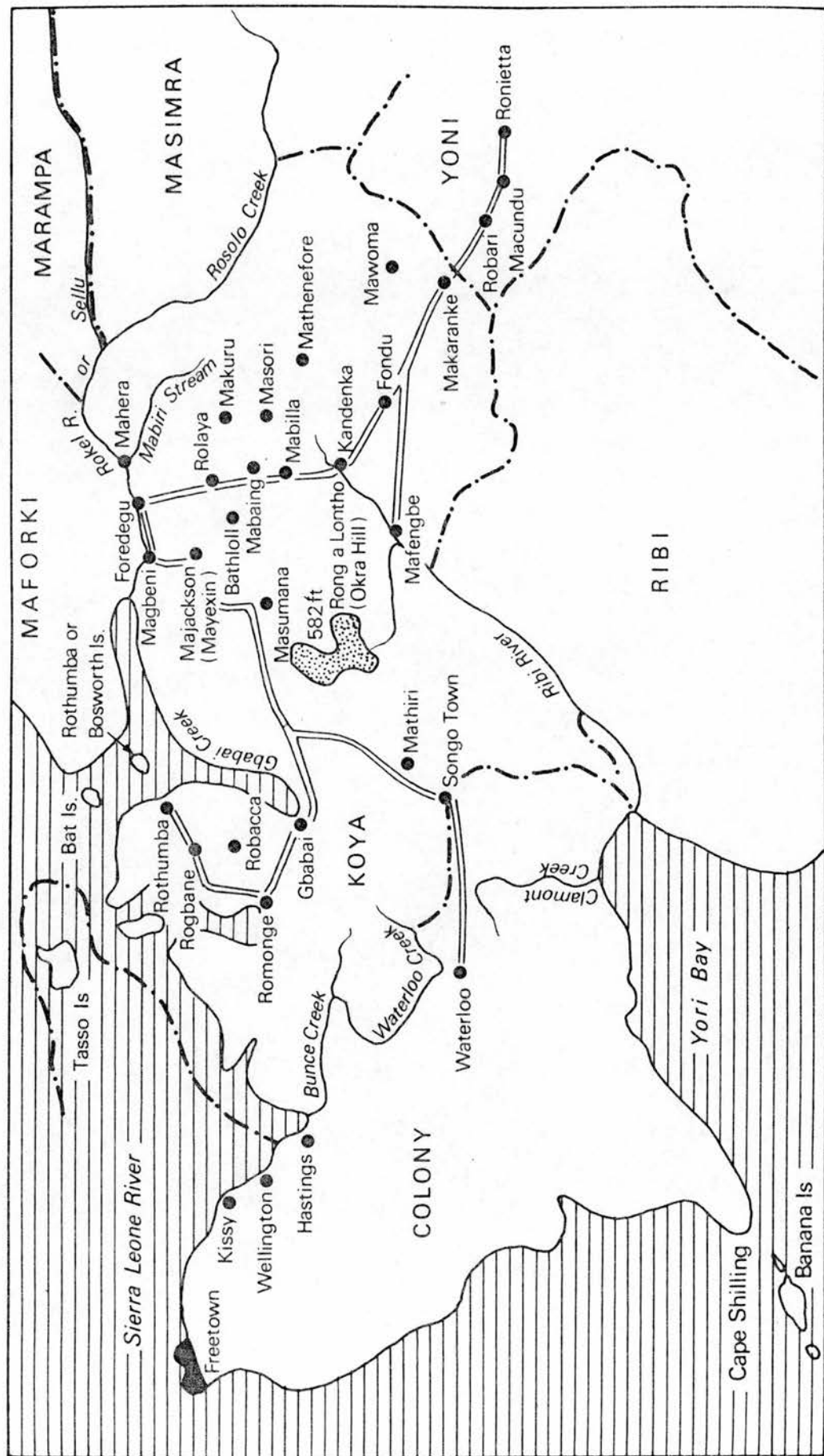
3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid AND C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 66.

6. Zachary Macaulay: Journals ... under date November 1, 1797.

# KOYA SHOWING IMPORTANT PLACES (up to the 1890's)



- Chiefdom Boundaries
- == Colonial Road
- Highland



Commenting on the date of the arrival of the Bundukas, it cannot be true, as stated by the traditions, that their ancestor, Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu had come to Koya Country before the arrival of the English. The English had arrived in Sierra Leone since the first half of the seventeenth century, and by the 1760's they had begun settling as traders on the Sierra Leone River, in a big way. The reason for this is that by 1807, Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu was dead, for Corry mentions Foredugu as "the town belonging to the late Morrey Bundu"<sup>1</sup>. If he had arrived in Koya before the first English traders - that is, before or just in the early seventeenth century, by the early nineteenth century when Corry wrote his observations, he would be over 150 years old. He could certainly not have lived so long - say from 1600 to early 1800.<sup>2</sup> Skinner has dated his arrival simply as the late eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> This date is more reasonable because his host, Nemgbana Farma, became regent in Koya in 1775, having been crowned together with Bai Kompa Ke Mant probably in 1770, and that it was this Nemgbana Farma that leased the peninsula to the British Government in 1788.

Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu soon gathered much influence and prestige among the surrounding Chiefs, including Ngombu Smart himself, as an outstanding 'Mori Man'. The small village of Foredugu which he founded soon became a leading Koya town for the latter part of the nineteenth century. Zachary Macaulay noted that 'Moriboondoo's' massive building of about 100 feet long was "better built by far than

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1. Joseph Corry: Observations upon the Windward coast of Africa (London, 1808), p. 46.
  2. David E. Skinner: Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914) - Canadian Journal of African Studies Vol. X, No. 3, 1976, p. 506.
  3. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol. II, p. 280. Treaty No. 1, August 22nd, 1788.



any I have seen in this, indeed, part of the country: and was most struck with .... the extreme cleanliness and neatness of everything about this place".<sup>1</sup> During the closing years of the eighteenth century, Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu became the wealthiest man in Koya Country. When he died, he was succeeded by his eldest son Momodu Bundu, as head of the Bunduka Family at Foredugu.

2

The complicated story of the Koya succession began after the death of the third Bai Kompa. This was Bai Kompa Ke Foro. When Bai Kompa Ke Foro died, his brother in the line of seniority was to have succeeded him. He was Pa Bureh Fallah but he was too old and died shortly afterwards. The elders therefore, met and honoured him with the creation of the 'BUREH RULING HOUSE' in order that his descendants might in future be eligible to contest for the crown, who were thus requested to produce the new king.

The elders of this newly created Ruling House, the 'Bureh Ruling House', agreed to crown Pa Dick Ke Mant since he was the oldest amongst themselves. At first, he accepted, but after he had consulted a soothsayer who told him that he would not live long if he was crowned since he was a Poro man (the Koya Crown being a Ramena and not a Poro Crown), he declined. He then offered the crown to his younger brother,

1. Zachary Macaulay: Journals .... under date, November 1, 1797.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Anatigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.4.76.

Pa Moru, who was next in seniority, and who was not a Poro man. Pa Moru accepted but Yan Bome Baya Fallah, their eldest sister who was also a senior Queen objected and insisted that her son, Pa Charch, should be crowned. This Yan Bome Baya Fallah had married to a relative of Bai Simra Thonkla Ruling House in Masimra Country and Pa Charch was the product of that marriage. Since the members of the Bai Simra Ruling Houses were all Banguras (or Thallays) Pa Charch was therefore, a Bangura paternally, and only a Fallah, maternally. Pa Dick Ke Mant, on the insistence of Yan Bome Baya Fallah, offered the crown to Pa Charch.<sup>1</sup> This was the first departure from Pa Ka Konko London's constitution that the successor should always be a son of a male heir, or a Fallah of Romarung, or a Kamara of Magbeni. This was a 'KOTH0' on the crown. It was 'KOTH0' in that the new king was the son of a female heir, and was neither a Kamara, nor a Fallah, but a Bangura for that matter - that is, it was a sharp deviation from the established custom. This clearly meant that a Bangura Ruling House (Kompa Ke Mant Ruling House, the fourth Ruling House), had been introduced into the Koya kingship, an act which would be bound to generate confusion in the matter of some future succession. But the Koya people neither recognized, nor cared for the new king; and he in turn, refused to care for his uncle, Pa Dick Ke Mant, who gave him the crown. This earned him the dislike of his family as well. He then cursed the crown, that since the Koya people did not care for him, whoever succeeded him as king should not live long, if he was cared for by the Koya people. His Nemgbana was

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 289.

Nemgbana Farma, who did not prove helpful to him at all, in his hour of need.

Nemgbana Farma only saw the opportunity to strengthen his own position in the country, using the unpopularity of his king. He bitterly opposed him; he would capture to himself, all the tributes of the country, and would allow none to be taken to him. Bai Kompa Ke Mant, realising that everything was now against him fled to Romarung where he was now living on the presents and gifts the English traders would give him. Nemgbana Farma now intensified his campaign against him, accusing him of squandering the presents and gifts from the 'White Man' which they felt were for the whole country, and this made the Koya people dislike Bai Kompa Ke Mant more than ever before.<sup>1</sup>

When Bai Kompa Ke Mant died at 'Romarung', the English traders sent for the Koya people to collect his corpse but they never turned up; and not knowing how to bury a Temne King, these traders put his corpse in a coffin, brought it to Rogbamin near Robacca and suspended it on two iron bars. As it rotted, the fluid drained from the coffin. The white ants built a huge ant-hill on it, covering the whole coffin. This place became sacred to the Koya Kings. His children then went and surrounded the ant-hill and swore the crown, that since their father was made to perish in that unkingly manner because he was unjustly accused of squandering the 'White Man's' gifts and presents, whoever that took control of the Koya country should perish in a similar manner if he enjoyed the blessings of the 'White Man', such as rum, tobacco, salt, clothes, etc. This was the third 'KOTHO' on the Koya Crown.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 289.

After the death of Bai Kompa Ke Mant, his Nemgbana, Nemgbana Farma, as was the custom in Koya, took control of the whole country. Writing in 1785, Matthews<sup>1</sup> noted that this ruler had occupied that position for more than ten years, and Fyfe<sup>2</sup> gives the date of his death as 1793. "More than ten years" from 1785 to 1793 could not be less than 18 years. Since by Koya custom the King and his Nemgbana must be crowned and installed together, the coronation and installation of Bai Kompa Ke Mant and Nemgbana Farma must have taken place not later than 1775.

Because of the frequent deaths of the successors, the Koya people now become convinced that these 'KOTH0' should be removed before a new king could live long. The famous soothsayer, Pa Foi Yimisa, was invited who, having performed certain ceremonies, predicted<sup>3</sup> that a small boy should first be crowned and if he died by an ant-hill, then the 'KOTH0' had been removed. Thus Bai Kompa Feth (Young, or Boy Kompa) was crowned to succeed Nemgbana Farma. Shortly after his coronation, Bai Kompa Feth died by an ant-hill, and this was believed to be a proof that the 'KOTH0' on the crown had been removed.<sup>4</sup> These two deaths occurred before the end of 1793. Bai Kompa Feth's Nemgbana was Nemgbana Bureh I.

On the question of this third 'KOTH0', James, District Commissioner, Port Loko, has noted that in Koya,

"Bai Kompa I who treated with the English for the cession of this tract of country [the Colony peninsula] incurred the wrath of the old warrior Farima Tam, who charged him with "selling the country to the white man". Bai Kompa

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1. John Matthews: A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone ... p. 76.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 54.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,

13.1.76.

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,

14.1.76.

4. Ibid.



must therefore die in Freetown when he went to collect his stipend. He did so and was buried there. Farima Tam then cursed the crown, the effect being that no chief could be crowned in Koya till the curse was removed. Alimamy Sorie, grandfather of the late Bai Kompa II and although married to a Koya woman, yet not himself of the chiefdom, went to see Old Chief Mokomok, who had once been sub-chief of the ceded portion, and with his advice and aid, secured the removal of the curse, and enabled a new chief, Bai Kanta to be crowned."<sup>1</sup>

But James' contribution needs some critical assessment. In the first place, according to this account, it appears that Bai Kompa I and "Farima Tam" lived in Koya at the same time. This is incorrect. Farma Thami had lived long ago before the cession of the land for the Colony in 1788 - far longer ago than the Temne traditions can remember - "three hundred generations have passed away since he lived"<sup>2</sup> that is, about 900 years before Schlenker recorded his traditions in the 1840's.<sup>3</sup> When the peninsular was ceded to the English, there was no crowned king in Koya and so it is incorrect to speak of a Bai Kompa I at that time. The first treaty of cession made in 1787 was signed by King Tom, Pa Bongee and Queen Yamacouba.<sup>4</sup> This treaty was repudiated by Nemgbana Farma who then concluded the treaty of 1788, and he (Nemgbana Farma), and his sub-chiefs, James Dawder, Pa Bongee, and Pa Dick Rabbin, put their marks to it.<sup>5</sup> As already noted, King Tom, Pa Bongee, and Queen Yamacouba, James Dowder, and Dick Rabbin, were only sub-chiefs, hence they had no authority to conclude treaties all on their own.

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1. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional History ..." p.117.
  2. C.F. Schlenker: A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables and Proverbs, (London, 1861) pp. 3-5. Quoted in C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ... pp. 19-20.
  3. C. Fyfe: Sierra Leone Inheritance ... pp. 112-3.
  4. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856), Vol. II, p. 265. Treaty No. 1, August 22, 1788.
  5. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.65.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	18.1.76.



Secondly, according to Koya traditions,<sup>1</sup> Bai Kompa I did not die in Freetown, as that town did not exist until the time of Nemgbana Farma, between the 1770's - 1793, and thus Bai Kompa I could therefore, not have gone there to receive stipends. The native town or village where the English traders lived with their Temne hosts<sup>2</sup> was Ro-Marung and the Koya King who died there was Bai Kompa Ke Mant, who was in fact, Bai Kompa IV, the first, second, and third Kompas respectively<sup>3</sup> being Pethru, Ke Kent, and Ke Foro. Moreover, the corpse of Bai Kompa Ke Mant (Bai Kompa IV), was not buried at Ro-Marung, but brought to Koya and suspended on two iron bars at Rogbamin near Robacca, where<sup>4</sup> it rotted and the white ants built an ant-hill on the place.

Thirdly, the curse of 'Farima Tam' is not mentioned by any of the Temne traditions, nor is it mentioned in any document.<sup>5</sup>

Fourthly, Hooker, Provincial Secretary, Northern Province, commenting on James' account, maintains that it was Bai Kompa (probably, Bai Kompa Dumbuya) who said it was Farma Thami's people that cursed the crown and not Farma Thami himself. By this information, Bai Kompa Dumbuya meant Farma Thami's descendants since the term 'descendant' covers a wider field of relationship, and members of the Temne Ruling Houses seem to claim descent from Farma Thami.

The fifth criticism is that Bai Kompa II had died long ago - this was Bai Kompa Ke ~~Kent~~<sup>6</sup>. If James means Bai Kompa Dumbuya who

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 5, p. 293.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. R.S. Hooker: 'Notes on James' "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law ... p. 119.

6. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,

13.1.76.  
 14.1.76.  
 31.1.76.  
 3.2.76.

was Paramount Chief of Koya when he (James) was District Commissioner<sup>1</sup> in 1939, this was Bai Kompa VII, and his grandfather was never known in Koya; but his father Pa Sumana Karrgbo Dumbuya, who married Yan Musu Bundu, daughter of Pa Kombo Bundu of Foredugu.

Finally, the claim that McCormack was a Chief is incorrect for such information is not supported by Koya traditions, nor is it recorded in any document. McCormack however, did have trading premises at Tombo Island which might have given him some right as a landlord.<sup>2</sup> Regarding his role in the removal of the KOTH0, Koya traditions support the view that it was McCormack that financed the whole exercise, although he did not interfere with the sacred ceremonies connected with it.

The successor of Bai Kompa Feth was Bai Farma I who was<sup>3</sup> crowned in 1794. This was the King who concluded the peace treaty of 1807. He, King Tom, and Pa Konko London put their marks to this<sup>4</sup> treaty. He died shortly after concluding this treaty.

When Bai Farma I died, his Nemgbana, Nemgbana Bure I, took<sup>5</sup> control of the whole country, and ruled until his death in 1825. Koya traditions say that Pa Tham Kanthine (Tom Katine) ruled as<sup>6</sup> regent for some time, after the death of Nemgbana Bureh I. It was this Tom Katine that succeeded Pa Konko London in receiving the annual

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 6, p. 294.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.

4. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856)  
 Vol. II, pp. 272-3. Treaty No. 3, July 10 & 13, 1807.

5. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes: Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its vicinity.  
 C.O.267/297 (1887), p. 32.

6. Oral Traditions - see Note 3 above.

payments for the peace treaty of July 10, 1807, and of the treaty of  
cession of May 25, 1819.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have ruled until his death in  
1832.<sup>2</sup> Koya traditions maintain that 'Pa Tham Kanthineh' was later  
crowned Bai Farma II, and like his predecessor, Bai Farma I, he did  
not assume the title of Bai Kompa for fear of the 'KOTH0'. This  
necessarily follows that he ruled partly as regent, and partly as  
king from 1825-1832. Bai Farma II put his mark to the treaty No. 32  
of April 16, 1836 at Foredugu together with fifteen other Temne Chiefs  
including Momodu Bundu of Foredugu.<sup>3</sup> By this treaty, the Chiefs of  
the Temne country were committed to be at peace with the Colony, keep  
the roads open and safe, protect the trade, stop the slave trade and  
abolish all human sacrifices. Bai Farma I did not live long and died  
in 1832 after reigning only for seven years. He was succeeded by his  
Nemgbana, Nemgbana Bureh II, who was crowned Bai Bureh. He was the  
first Nemgbana to be crowned King in Koya, and this was another 'KOTH0'.  
He too did not live long and died in 1838, having reigned only for six  
years (1832-1838).<sup>4</sup>

The death of Bai Bureh marked an important turning point in  
that it ushered in a new situation in the history of Koya. This was  
the first interregnum which lasted for twenty-one years (1838-1859).  
It was a hectic period indeed. The loss of the peninsula had dis-  
pleased the Koya people who had put a curse on the crown, and who now

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856)  
Vol. II, Treaty No. 6, May 25, 1819.
  2. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 295.
  3. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856)  
Vol. II, p. 329. Treaty No. 32, April 16, 1836.
  4. E.A. Ijagbemi: A History of the Temne in the 19th Century ...  
p. 128.

feared to instal new kings. The district chiefs attempted to rule their respective principalities but were incapable of wielding authority because they lacked the aura surrounding ceremonially installed Kings. This political instability was heightened by the activities of four Queens vying for supremacy. These were Bome<sup>1</sup> Ruffa, Bome Gbashia, Bome Bintha, and Bome Baya Ballay Mankay. Since there was no responsible supreme authority, Koya was ravaged by a combination of these rivalries together with a series of other internal as well as external events. It was during this period of confusion that Momodu Bundu became regent in Koya.

When Momodu Bundu succeeded his late father Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu to the leadership of Foreduku, his Bunduka family had already established a powerful influence in the country. He was recognized in this leadership by the Colony Administration, for he signed (in Arabic) treaties No. 6 of May 25, 1819; No. 31 of April 16, 1836; and No. 33 of April 18, 1836, as Chief of Foreduku and Mahera for which he was given an annual stipend of 100 bars. By the terms of treaty No. 33 of April 18, 1836, concluded at Magbele, Momodu Bundu was "To keep open the road from Foreduku to Mahera and<sup>2</sup> thence to Waterloo in the Colony of Sierra Leone". Koya traditions<sup>3</sup> however, say that he was not a crowned chief. But to the Colony Administration, any native person in authority was a 'Chief' irrespective of whether he was crowned or not, and in fact, in those

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.3.76.

2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (1788-1856) Vol. II,  
p.337, Treaty No. 33 of April 18, 1836.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Santigie Turay, Royema, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.



early days they would not know the classes of personalities, or might not even be told that such classes existed.

When Bai Bureh died in 1838, Momodu Bundu became regent of the whole country. This was made possible because of the services of his late father, to the country, and for his being a son of a female citizen of the country, and also for his own personal influence as a powerful 'Mori Man'.<sup>1</sup> Momodu Bundu was in good friendly terms with the Port Loko people. He gave his daughter in marriage to Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara, and Sorie Conditto was the product of that marriage.<sup>2</sup> Sorie Conditto was later to become a stipendiary of the Government as one of the Port Loko Chiefs with an annual stipend of 100 bars, and was a signatory of Treaty No. 67 of 1857.<sup>3</sup> He would also give military aid to some of the neighbouring chiefs in their local wars. This military aid was in the form of the 'Dreaded Koya Keg of Powder', which was said to be prepared and consecrated at the Sacred Chiefly House at Robacca to charge it with supernatural power. When loaded in a gun, it was believed it would enable the bullets never to miss or fail to kill an opponent. Through intermarriage and the gift of the dreaded powder therefore, Momodu Bundu was able to win support from some of the neighbouring Chiefs.

During his regency, there were series of conflicts within Koya itself. The first of these which was quite alarming was motivated by the sharp disagreement between the Koya people and the

1. + 2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alpha Morlai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4. 2.76.

3. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London 1857-1872).  
Vol. III, p. 429. Treaty No. 67 of February 27, 1857.



Liberated Africans of Mende origin. The Temne, and the Koya in particular, called these Mende Liberated Africans, "Mende Kossohs" or simply "Kossohs", a term with the derogatory meaning of being primitive. The Kossohs in turn would call the Koya Temne, 'Temne Mabanta',<sup>1</sup> or simply 'Mabanta' which term also had the same derogatory meaning. As the population of the Liberated Africans began to increase, it became clear that a clash between the two groups would be inevitable eventually.

From the beginning of the Colony up to 1808, the population of the Liberated Africans had always centred around Freetown and this had never gone above 2,000.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of the 1830's, it had,<sup>3</sup> with the arrival of the recaptives, risen to 40,000, many of whom were Kossohs. By the late 1830's, these Kossohs alone numbered<sup>4</sup> 1,500. These Kossohs were settled in the Waterloo area as British subjects on the land Pa Konko London had ceded to Governor Macarthy in 1819. As British subjects, they were governed by the British law, and they enjoyed British justice and protection. The Government appointed an agent who resided at Waterloo, to look after their interests. Koya traditions describe this situation as being "under the flag",<sup>5</sup> meaning, 'under British protection'.

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1. Ibid - Oral Traditions, AND C.O.267/164. Carr to Russell, June 23, 1841; enclosing McCormack's Report. The term 'Kossoh' is often used in a derogatory sense against the whole Mende 'tribe'. The same thing with the term 'Mabanta' - T.P. Dalby: 'Banta and Mabanta'.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 98 in Sierra Leone Language Review No. 2 (1943) pp. 23-24.
  3. E.A. Ijagbemi: A History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century p.131.
  4. C.O.267/164. Carr to Russell, July 20, 1841.
  5. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

Some of these Kossoh Liberated Africans engaged in trading on their own, or were employed as agents of bigger Colony trading establishments, such as the timber traders. This timber trade indeed brought many Colony traders to Koya country particularly around the Rosolo Creek which alone in 1836, produced 19,000 logs.<sup>1</sup> As far as trade transactions were concerned, the Koya Temne and the Liberated Africans were good friends<sup>2</sup> for it was to the advantage of both sides. The majority of the Kossohs however, were farmers, employing their traditional agricultural methods of shifting cultivation. This system of cultivation requires a great deal of land, as a fresh patch of land is needed every year in search of virgin and fertile soil; but it is uncomfortable in larger communities because the land becomes easily exhausted.

As their numbers continued to increase, the Kossoh Liberated Africans needed more land to do their farming. Since their land around Waterloo had become inadequate they began to move across the boundary to 'Native Koya', "tempted by a more fertile soil, by the hope, probably, of greater independence of action, and perhaps by the desire of approaching nearer to their branch the Kpa Mende of their nation".<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the years, the population of these Kossoh Liberated Africans kept on increasing by additional new recaptives. There were many others also who joined them from various Koya settlements among whom were the Loko refugees from Masimra who had

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1. P.P. 1842, Vol. XI ... p. 593.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.

3. P.P. 1842, Vol. XI, p. 259.

been dislodged by the Temne/Loko wars which began in 1928. Others who joined were runaway slaves both from the interior and from the other parts of Koya. They came to settle in the Colony for protection and would refuse to return to their masters even when they were demanded to do so. They felt they were quite peaceful in the Colony where the English law did not permit the slave trade and slavery to be practised. Such a situation alarmed their Koya landlords but they could not drive out these large numbers of their strangers, because they feared the Colony Government. Their numbers having been so increased, the Kossob Liberated Africans began to over-emphasize their British citizenship; they felt proud and regarded themselves superior to their Koya landlords; and more so, they now began to encroach on the 'native' Koya land without permission from their landlords. The Koya reported to Governor H.D. Campbell who authorised them to "flog" and drive them out of their land. During the conflict, which the Koya people refer to as the "Kossob War" <sup>1</sup> many were killed and many more captured and enslaved. Koya traditions say that the Koya were assisted in this war by the Masimra Temne and that all the casualties were on the side of the Kossobs. This cannot be correct. It must be on both sides for since it was war, it should be but reasonable to believe that both sides suffered, even though one side might suffer more than the other. In such a case, the traditions could be considered as being exaggerated to assert the superiority of the Koya Temne over that of the Kossob Liberated Africans. Whatever might be the consequences of the war, it was the losses sustained by the Kossobs that gave the Administration a cause for

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,  
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,

31.1.76.

3.2.76.

concern. The Governor therefore, being very furious demanded an immediate reparation, much to the astonishment of the Koya Chiefs. They were flabbergasted because they did not expect such behaviour from the Administration whom they had all along been trying to keep at bay. They however, apologised but the incident made a deep impression on their minds.

Another noteworthy incident which brought confusion and serious disaster during this interregnum period, and which the Koya people deeply remember<sup>1</sup> was the war of En Kerry. The parties involved in this war were the Koya, Kolifa Mabang, Yoni and Masimra Temne; the Kpa Mende; the Kossoh Liberated Africans; the Muslim Colonists; the masters of the runaway slaves; and the Colony Administration.

<sup>2</sup>  
According to Koya and Yoni traditions, Pa Bockarie Fallah, abbreviated as Pa Kerry or simply, as An Kerry (En Kerry) lived in Fondu in Yoni Mamella country and was a brother and successor of Pa Massa Kaniba, a man of Kuranko origin who founded that section of that country. The Fondu district was originally Kpa Mende country but was conquered by Pa Massa Kaniba who became its first ruler before it became amalgamated with Yoni Mamella. The conquest however, only meant the elimination of the Kpa Mende rulers of the area and their being replaced by Kuranko-Temne rulers; and its population remained largely Kpa Mende. When En Kerry began his war career, the vast majority of his recruits into his army were Kpa Mende warmen, although he also had a substantial number of Fondu and Yoni Mamella Temne.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Kaprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	17.1.76.
Pa Bockarie Fulla Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	22.1.76.
Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	6.4.76.
Pa Nomo Tholley, Fondu, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	
Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,	7.4.76.

2. Ibid.



En Kerry's wars devastated the whole interior of the southern Temne country and dislocated the caravan trade to Rokon, Rokel, and Magbele, to the disadvantage of both that region and the Colony. But the Administration could not hold him in check because the troubled area was still outside the jurisdiction of the Colony and the countries involved had not yet signed treaties of friendship and protection with the British Government.

In the 1830's however, a new era had dawned among the Temne people. The treaty negotiations which had begun with the Koya and the Port Loko people up to the mid-1820's, had been extended to the rest of the Southern Temne country. In 1836, Governor H.D. Campbell concluded such treaties at Magbele and En Kerry was one of the many chiefs who put their marks to such treaties.<sup>1</sup> The treaties were mainly aimed at bringing peace, friendship, protection, and free intercourse between the Colony and the Temne countries involved. As an incentive for the Temne Chiefs to abide by the terms of these treaties, they were to receive stipends and En Kerry's entitlement<sup>2</sup> was 80 bars annually. Copies of these treaties were distributed to the Chiefs involved and En Kerry went home and kept his in a box waiting for it to work magic and produce the money. When this did not happen, he felt very disappointed, and thus mustered an army and began to wage wars afresh. In late 1830, he launched his first attack on Eastern Koya, but was met by the forces of Momodu Bundu, who pushed them back. From this point onwards, diplomatic moves began among the parties involved which stretched the trouble on to the beginning of the first interregnum period.

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol. II. Treaty No. 32 of April 16, 1836 and Additional Treaty No. 34A of April 11, 1837.

2. Ibid.



En Kerry then tactically abandoned his Koya campaign and attacked Kolifa Mabang in aid of his Romende allies who were at war with Bai Kurr of that country. In response to this move, Momodu Bundu now sent war-men to aid Bai Kurr so that En Kerry might be defeated, and thus prevented from attacking Koya the second time. En Kerry then employed new strategy - to fight Koya within Koya, by using people resident in Koya country itself. He knew very well that the Kossoh Liberated Africans in Koya were bitterly opposed to their Koya landlords and he was determined to use them to achieve his aim. He sent emissaries to incite them against the Koya people. In this way, he hoped to withdraw from the war front at Kolifa Mabang so that he could defeat Bai Kurr, and later, pounce on Koya. Having been so incited, the Kossohs began to devastate Koya, burning towns and villages and destroying farms, and capturing people. Hearing the news of this devastation, En Kerry got on his war fence and announced to Momodu Bundu that the Colony was siding with him and that the Governor was contemplating on destroying Koya with a large force.<sup>1</sup> But Momodu Bundu remained calm and calculated. He continued the war at Kolifa Mabang, and sent to restrain his Koya people from retaliating in order to prevent a confrontation with the Administration.<sup>2</sup>

Having received Momodu Bundu's message, Bockarie Saille Bundu and some Koya Chiefs including Pa Simbara and Pa Kaprrr Kompa sent to Governor Doherty imploring him to stop his men from continuing their devastation of Koya Country. Complying with this request, Doherty sent Mr. W.G. Nicol, the Manager at Waterloo, to instruct the Kossohs to withdraw from Koya territories. But they did not pay heed

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1. C.O.267/165. Carr to Russell; August 10, 1841.

2. Ibid.

to even the warning that they would not be protected if they meddled with the affairs of a 'barbarous people' beyond the jurisdiction of the Colony, but continued their terrorist activities against their Koya landlords.<sup>1</sup> Momodu Bundu himself now sent to Governor Doherty imploring him to order his men out of Koya.

Now quite irritated by what he described as a "source of constant embarrassment and annoyance",<sup>2</sup> Doherty took positive action. He instructed the Colonial Secretary, N.W. Macdonald, to issue a proclamation pointing out to the Liberated Kossoshs that "no protection can be afforded them by the Colony so long as they choose to reside where they are at present, or in any other territory beyond the limits of the Sierra Leone peninsula; and that the fault is solely their own",<sup>3</sup> if they encountered any difficulties. This instruction which was fair enough, was also carefully explained to the Koya Chiefs, by two officials of the Government, G.B. Jones and Lieutenant Smales adding that "if any of the Kossosh people came to trouble them in their country, they were to drive them away, that if they beat them or kill them in doing so the Governor would have nothing to do with it, it was their fault."<sup>4</sup> The Koya Chiefs were quite pleased with this line of action adopted by the Administration, and the Kossosh Liberated Africans were now forced to suspend their terrorist activities in Koya territory. To the generality of the Koya people, and to the surrounding countries, it seemed it was only a temporary suspension of hostilities, for a serious conflict would surely be inevitable in the near future.

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1. C.O.267/164. Carr to Russell; July 29, 1841.
  2. C.O.267/159. Doherty to Russell; July 29, 1840.
  3. C.O.267/164. Carr to Russell; July 20, 1841, enclosing Minutes of Council Meeting of June 29, 1841.
  4. Ibid.

With the suspicion of this impending conflict, many other interested parties were getting ready to join. Among these were the warriors of the surrounding countries including "several colonists who have adopted the religion of the Mohammedans"; <sup>1</sup> defectors from the Temne/Loko wars in the Port Loko area; the owners of the runaway slaves who went as volunteers to enable them to recover their runaway slaves. Some of these warriors or volunteers joined purposely to enrich themselves by plundering the rich Colony traders in both 'native' and ceded Koya. From 1838, the year Bai Bureh died to about 1843, sporadic skirmishes occurred in Koya due to the presence of these various elements. But the worst hostilities were yet to come in which all of them took active part. These took place in the middle of the 1840's..

The hostilities of the mid-1840's were precipitated by a quarrel over the ownership of a small and crooked piece of log, measuring about 20 feet long and 14 inches square. This log of timber was owned by a Temne man in the Gbabai area who left it in the wood to dry. When Thomas Williams, a Kossoh Liberated African, went to the forest and saw the log, he sold it to a Colony timber trader, Thomas Bucknor who hauled it from the forest. The war which followed the quarrel over this log of timber brought casualties on both sides but more on the side of the Kossohs many being killed, and many more captured as slaves. The Colony Government sided with the Kossohs and demanded the immediate release of the captured Kossohs and the "purchase of sovereignty", much to the astonishment of the Koya Chiefs. The Koya Chiefs surrendered their war prisoners but were unwilling to lease more of their territory to the Colony, despite McCormack's

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1. C.O.267/159. Doherty to Russell; July 29, 1840, enclosing letter from Nicol to Macdonald, June 27, 1840.



persuasion. The bitterness caused between the Koya people and the Kossohs, and the mutual mistrust between the Koya Chiefs and the Colony Government prevailed throughout the period of the interregnum.

But the troubles in Koya during the mid-1840's were not caused only by external forces but also by situations within Koya itself. In addition to the confusion generated by the rivalry between the Queens and the inability of the district chiefs to control the country, there were petty jealousies among the defenders of the country. Koya traditions vividly recall the most prominent of these local divisions. This division arose between Momodu Bundu and Maligie Bundu, who was his paternal younger brother and chief warrior. Maligie Bundu had accused Momodu Bundu of being too slow and weak to deal with the Kossohs. He took advantage of the message which Momodu Bundu had sent to restrain the Koya warriors from retaliating on the Kossohs who were devastating Koya territory on the instigation of En Kerry. In the Koya Army itself, there was mutiny. Some of the warriors followed Maligie Bundu, the rebel leader, while the rest remained loyal to Momodu Bundu. According to T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of the Native Affairs Department, Maligie Bundu was supported by the Marampa and Masimra Kings and Chiefs. This was probably because, the Kings and Chiefs of these countries wanted to find an opportunity to extend their territories into Koya

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Bai Mange Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie M'Naimba, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thanna Falla, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Almamy Bundu, Pa Bassie Bundu and Pa Foday Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Pa Kapprr Kompa and Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. T.G. Lawson and J.C.E. Parkes. Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity. C.O.806/279. Freetown, Sierra Leone (February 1887).

land for the Rosolo Creek boundary had always been a source of constant trouble between Koya and the rulers of these countries. But the chief motive of Maligie Bundu was to overthrow his brother so that he could rule Foredugu or Upper Koya. When the Mabanta Temne realised this treachery and fearing the loss of their territory such as Mathenefore district to Masimra,<sup>they</sup> quickly mobilised their own forces and joined the loyalist forces in support of Momodu Bundu. In the civil war which ensued, Maligie Bundu was defeated and many of his warriors were either killed or enslaved. Peace was established on a temporary basis in Koya country by Governor H.D. Campbell through Mr. John Dawson, a merchant, and a few others were commissioned to proceed up the Roquelle River, on board the steam ship "Soudan",<sup>1</sup> for this purpose. This confused situation was seen to continue in Koya country even when the interregnum came to an end by the coronation and installation of a new king in the person of Bai Kantha.

<sup>2</sup>  
Momodu Bundu, according to Koya traditions, was a strong and healthy man. With the support of the Queens, the Rokes, and the Mabanta Temne in Koya, he survived many upheavals throughout the period of the interregnum, and held the regency of the country for over fifteen years after the defeat of his rebellious brother, Maligie Bundu in 1841. He must have therefore, died before 1856 because, his signature does not appear in the treaty of peace and friendship

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1. Ibid.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Alhaji Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.1.76.
Ya Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.1.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.1.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.1.76.



concluded in February 1857, between the Governor Hill on the one hand, and the 32 Temne Chiefs on the other. This treaty was signed (in Arabic) by his brother, Alimamy Bockarie Sailley who became Chief of Foredugu.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of Pa Kombo Bundu, all the Koya traditions<sup>2</sup> are agreed that in his early childhood days, he was sent to the Moria Country to learn Arabic where he grew up to be a big man. But circumstances, continue the traditions, forced him to return home sooner than expected. He had, while on a hunting expedition, accidentally shot and killed a Bena Susu, for which the parents of the deceased wanted to kill him too. But his Karamoko (Master) apologised on his behalf, saying that Kombo was the son of a big 'Mori Man', and grandson of a great King. He was thus released and sent back home to his people at Foredugu. Some prominent Susu men were requested to accompany him so that he might not be attacked and killed on the way. The Bundukas of Foredugu were very pleased to have their son restored back to them quite safe. To compensate these Susu Men who accompanied him, they were allowed to settle at Rothumba Section in Lower Koya, and later, given the Alimamyship of that section. At Foredugu, Pa Kombo Bundu became a powerful warrior, leading the Koya forces in war in defence of the country. He thus became very influential, marrying many women, and acquiring much wealth which he<sup>3</sup> would use to strengthen his Bunduka family in Koya. There are still

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1853-1862), Vol. III, p. 421. Treaty No. 67 of 1857.

2. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 308.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Ya Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foray Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Yan Bome Warra Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.1.76.

large settlements of Susus at Rothumba Section who still claim to be strangers of the Bundukas of Foredugu, and are still crowned as<sup>1</sup> Alimamys of that section.

One of the military achievements of Pa Kombo Bundu, which was of great political importance among the Southern Temne in general, and the Koya in particular, was his victory over Kafiri.<sup>2</sup> Kafiri, who was by clan a Fallah, or Dumbuya, or Koroma, lived at Fondu in eastern Yoni Mamella country. According to Koya, Marampa, Masimra,<sup>3</sup> and Yoni traditions he was a professional warrior, and a son of Massa Kaniba who had migrated from Konike country and founded that part of the kingdom. Kafiri waged indiscriminate wars all over the Temne Country and in the neighbouring Kpa Mende Country. Because of his extraordinary cruelty, he was called 'KAFIRI' meaning (in Temne), a cruel and ungodly person.

Becoming tired of his devastations, the Temne leaders met at Mathenefore in Koya Country to plan the strategy on how to attack and conquer him, so that the Temne Country could have rest. A famous professional soothsayer was invited from Romende Country, to show them what to do. This soothsayer, Pa Foi Yimisa, told them that he would prepare a charm which had got to be swallowed by someone having the same surname and birth-date with Kafiri. The man would then die as a result of the swallowing of charm; and after this, Kafiri would be attacked and successfully defeated. The only man found possessing these qualities was Pa Thenefore Fallah (or Dumbuya or Koroma), and

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.309.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 302.

was a Mabanta Temne. He volunteered to swallow the charm and die for the freedom of his people and the peace of the Temne Country. But before he could perform this heroic act, he asked for a reward which could be given to his Mabanta people in Koya, after his death. He was told that a special post would be created for them in the government of the country. He then swallowed the charm and died the same day and was buried at 'RO-PALI BANA' (at the big grave) at Mathenefore. This place of his burial has been preserved as a sacred forest where the Mabanta Temne in Koya occasionally offer sacrifices, up to the present day.

After the burial of Pa Thenefore, the Temne forces were divided into three divisions. The eastern forces were led by Pa Korothamba, of Malal Country; the Yoni by Pa Fayombo Ka Dora (the bird of ill-omen); and those of Koya, by Pa Kombo Bundu of Foredugu. In Yoni Kafiri suffered a crushing defeat at Romesgreen, which prevented him from marching to Konike Country.

But Kafiri's depleted army was quickly reinforced by hundreds of young men who still believed that he would eventually triumph, and so, would be rewarded by plunder and booty. When they marched down to Koya, they were confronted by Pa Kombo Bundu and his forces. It was here that Kafiri was finally defeated. He fled from the Temne Country and committed suicide, preferring to die in this manner than to be slain by his fellow man. His wife, Yan Femgbe was captured by Pa Konomusu, one of Pa Kombo Bundu's lieutenants, and brought to Foredugu. Pa Kombo Bundu however, refused to kill her, for he believed her to be the custodian of her late husband's war 'medicines', so that he could have some of them. Later, he built a town for her which he named 'Mafemgbe', after her. This town was located on the south near the Ribí border, and became a notable training camp for



the Koya warriors. When, in 1887, the Administration was conducting an expedition against the Yoni, the Koya Chiefs were requested to provide a place for the soldiers to encamp, and Mafemgbe was chosen.<sup>1</sup>

When Pa Kombo Bundu died, his relatives requested the Kamaras of Magbeni and the Fallas who were the leading citizens of Koya, to crown an Alimamy from among the Bundukas of Foredugu as a reward for Pa Kombo's military services, and those of his late father, Pa Momodu Thabara Bundu and also of his late brother, Momodu Bundu. This Alimamy would then take control of the Foredugu section, take care of the late Pa Kombo Bundu's property, his many wives, and numerous children, and continue his big plans for the entire Koya Country. With the full consent of the then reigning King Bai Farma II, this request was willingly granted and Pa Bockarie Sailley, son of Yan Digba Koya by Pa Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu, was crowned as Pa Alimamy Sailley Bundu. His was the first Alimamyship in Koya and it comprised the upper section of the country. Alimamy Sailley thus became the founder of the Saillya Ruling House of the Alimamyship of Foredugu.

Written accounts seem to be silent about the existence and activities of Pa Kombo Bundu. But by reference to the existence of his father Pa Momodu Ali Thabara Bundu and his younger brother, Alimamy Bockarie Sailley, his period of existence can be suggested with some degree of accuracy. The last document signed by Pa Momodu Bundu was Treaty No. 33 of April 18, 1836,<sup>2</sup> and for Alimamy Sailley, his first document was Treaty No. 67 of February 27, 1857.<sup>3</sup> Thus Pa Kombo Bundu with his activities could be dated between 1837 and 1856.

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1. P.P. Yoni Expedition. Correspondence Respecting the Recent Expedition Against the Yonnie Tribe, Adjacent to Sierra Leone (5236, September 1887), p.47. Despatch No. 46; Enclosure November 10, 1887.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1857-1861). Vol. II, p. 347. Treaty No. 33, April 18, 1836.
  3. Ibid. Treaty No. 67, February 27, 1857.

Alimamy Bockarie Sailley probably lived up to 1860, for his successor, Alimamy Lahai Bundu signed Treaty No. 7 of January 24, 1862,<sup>1</sup> and Treaty No. 62 of February 1, of the same year. Alimamy Lahai Bundu was the younger brother of Pa Kombo Bundu by the same mother, Yan Boi Gbana. He was also the immediate successor of Alimamy Bockarie Sailley. This Alimamy Lahia Bundu created the Komboya Ruling House, so named after his elder brother, Pa Kombo Bundu. When Alimamy Lahai Bundu died, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, son of Pa Alie Banday Samba Bundu was crowned, and he created the Sambaya Ruling House. The full story of the coronation of this Alimamy is given in some later part of this Chapter. Thus the Alimamyship of Foredugu became divided into three distinct Ruling Houses - the Sailleya, the Komboya, and the Sambaya to which all future successors should put forward their claims.<sup>2</sup> So that by the 1890's, the Kingship of Koya had had four strong pillars, namely, the Kompaship, the Nemgbanaship, the Kapprr Kompaship, and the Alimamyship of Foredugu. But the creation of the Alimamyship of Foredugu later contributed largely to the political confusion in Koya country, for the authority of Upper Koya had now become vested in two hands - the Nemgbana or Deputy King (Paramount Chief), and the Alimamy of Foredugu.

Alimamy Sailley Bundu continued the policy of his predecessor in strengthening their Bunduka family in Koya. But such Bunduka influence meant the dominance of Islam in that country, much to the

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1. Ibid. Treaty No. 7 of January 24, 1862 and February 1, 1862.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Yan Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foray Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Yan Bome Warra Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.



displeasure of John McCormack, a very staunch Christian, who strongly believed that such a religion was a hinderance to the spread of Christianity among the Temne. He therefore, manoeuvred to have the 'KOTH0' removed and the youngest son of Bai Farma I, <sup>1</sup>[Dick Wola I,] <sup>2</sup> was crowned in May 1859 under the title of Bai Kantha. His coronation had the full support of the Government, and the then Acting Governor gave him his name of Alexander; and was thus styled, 'Alexander Bai Kantha'. <sup>3</sup> He did not assume the title of Bai Kompa for fear of the 'KOTH0'. He was only to protect or preserve the country for in Temne, to 'KANTHA' means, to protect or to preserve. <sup>4</sup> Bai Kantha then crowned Nemgbana Gontho Gbonko as his second in command or deputy - a Kamara of Magbeni. <sup>5</sup> Bai Kantha thus once more attempted to restore the old order of things in Koya Country.

Bai Kantha's first two years of his administration were happy ones. The Koya people were once more pleased to have a king after the long interregnum of 21 years, and so, he was able to gain overwhelming co-operation in his government. He was on good terms with the Colony Administration and his name-sake, Acting Governor Alexander Fitzjames was very fond of him. Two factors accounted for this. The first was that Koya still remained an important trading centre although the timber supply along the Rokel River and the Rosolo Creek, had by this time, become almost completely denuded. Koya country still supplied large quantities of rice, sweet potatoes, cassava, bananas, plantains,

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.313.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 297.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 313.
  5. Ibid.

and other foodstuffs, to the Colony. The commercial development of Magbele also increased the importance of Koya. Both overland and river traders had to pass through Koyaland, and its inhabitants immensely benefited from this traffic.

The second factor was the pacification of two disputing chiefs. By the late 1850's and early 1860's traders were moving to the Ribi River region where the timber production had shifted. The two chiefs<sup>1</sup> involved were Alimamy Bockarie Sailley Bundu of Foredugu, and Thomas Theophilus Caulker, Chief of the region on the south of the River Ribi. Since the quarrel disrupted the trade of the Colony, Governor Fitzjames requested Bai Kantha to use his offices to restore order. This request came in August 1859, only three months after his coronation. Bai Kantha was successful in restoring the needed order and a peace<sup>2</sup> treaty was signed that same year. This in itself demonstrated the respect which his own people and his neighbours had for him during the early years of his administration. To the Koya people, it was also<sup>3</sup> a mark of honour from the Government.

<sup>4</sup>  
All the Koya traditions inform us that after the second year of his reign, Bai Kantha had no time to concentrate on the government of his country because of constant troubles<sup>5</sup> formented for over twenty years. The troubles were not formented by his own subjects but by the Colony authorities and the Liberated Africans in

1. C.O.267/264. Fitzjames to Newcastle, July 29, 1859.
2. Ibid and A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London 1853-62), Vol. III, p. 437. Treaty No. 72 of June 24, 1859.
3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Santigie Turay Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.4.76.  
 Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom, 19.2.76.
4. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 2.3.76.  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.

Koya. These were a mere continuation of earlier struggles between the Koya on the one hand, and the Liberated Africans with the support of the Colony Government, on the other. But those during the reign of Bai Kantha seemed to be of a graver nature. The then Governor, Hill, who wanted to annex more territory to win military glory, would stop at nothing but to organize mammoth expeditions against the Koya, each ending with the defeat of the latter. The expedition of 1861 was only discontinued by Hill fining Bai Kantha £500. As the King and his subjects could not pay such a huge amount, Hill suggested the alternative of leasing a portion of Koya Country in return for an annual rent of 200 bars, which was equivalent to £100. Although this was a suggestion, it was mandatory, and a pretext to get hold of the land, and Bai Kantha and his people had to agree. During the negotiation, Hill made the Chiefs to understand that the deal was merely a lease of their land but in the treaty itself to which they put their marks, it was a cession.

<sup>1</sup>  
By this treaty, Bai Kantha and his chiefs and headmen were made to cede, surrender, give over, and transfer, from henceforth forever to the British Government, the portion of Koya country measuring 160 square miles stretching from Waterloo to Songo (or Masungoh Creek), and Songo Town was included in the lease. The towns of Robacca and Rogbane were, however, excluded from the treaty.

On April 16, 1861, Hill wrote to the Colonial Office pointing out that "The acquisition of this territory is most important as regards the interest of the Colony ... In every point of view, I cannot but consider the Colony most fortunate in obtaining this territory on such

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1856-62). Vol. III, p. 266. Treaty No. 1, April 2, 1861 - Confirmed by Proclamation, August 19, 1861.



easy terms."<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that the cession would end the conflict between the settlers and the Colony people; that Waterloo would be effectively protected by such an extension of boundary; that the Ribi River trade would be more easily controlled; and the slave trade in the river, suppressed.

This situation did not in any way please Bai Kantha and his Koya people. To them, it only meant that another territory had been forcibly and cleverly taken away from them. To Bai Kantha personally it was a shattering and ignominious defeat, since his father had been disgraced 54 years ago (in 1807) for the loss of the peninsula; and to the generality of the Koya people, it was a national disaster, and blamed it on the 'KOTHO'<sup>2</sup> which his father had brought on the crown by 'selling the country to the 'White Man' (a reference to the treaty of 1807); and by he himself refusing to adopt the title of Bai Kompa on installation. But they had in fact long before 1861, become convinced that the actual intention of the Colony was to take away their land from them and that whatever they did, was only a way of providing strategies and excuses to effect such acquisitions. They considered the whole action of the Colony as a treachery and a blackmail. Thus with this conviction, the Koya traditions are justified in saying that the 'White Man' took away their land by fraud and conquest.<sup>3</sup> It was therefore, evident that the struggle would continue, to the detriment of the Koya people, who by the end of 1861, became firmly convinced that it was futile on their own part to continue to fight the 'White Man'; but to sue for peace.

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1. C.O.267/270. Hill to Newcastle; April 16, 1861.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

3. Ibid.

On January 18, 1862, Koya sued for peace,<sup>1</sup> and on the 22nd,<sup>2</sup> they assembled in Freetown for the peace settlement.<sup>3</sup> By the terms of the peace treaty thus concluded on January 24, 1862, it was agreed that all stockades or war fences must be pulled down; that the Queen's right to British Koya must be fully acknowledged; that all persons who did not wish to live and render obedience to the British law must leave the Queen's land in Koya; that those settlers who might remain in British Koya must not build towns or houses in any place without the consent of the Government; and that those who wished to remain under and render obedience to British rule would be protected. The treaty drove Bai Kantha out of Robacca and Rogbane and strictly prohibited him and Bockarie Bomboli from living in any other town in British Koya. All the war prisoners of Koya were to be released immediately, and the property of the Colony traders plundered must be restored at once. Country customs and sacrifices were also prohibited in British Koya. Finally the terms of the treaty stipulated that the laws of the Colony of Sierra Leone should now operate in British Koya, and that Bai Kantha would not receive his stipend allowed him by the treaty until the expenses of the war were made good by him.

The Chiefs accepted the terms of the treaty unconditionally and faithfully promised to abstain from all hostile acts against the Colony, and to hand over any of their subjects who might commit any act of aggression on the British territory, to the Government to be dealt with according to the laws of the Colony. They also promised to protect all the British subjects that might visit, reside, or trade

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1. C.O.267/273. Hill to Newcastle; January 18, 1862.

2. Ibid.

3. Montagu, A: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone , Vol. III, p. 282, Treaty No. 7, January, 24, 1862.



in Koya, and to send to the Government for punishment, any British subjects who might break their country laws or customs. This peace treaty was signed on February 1, 1862, by Governor Hill and Bai Kantha himself together with twelve of his principal men including Nemgbana Gbontho Gbonko and Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu, and witnessed by seven neighbouring Temne Chiefs.<sup>1</sup> Ratified in April 1862, this treaty began an important era in the history of Koya. It marked the end of the existence of Koya as an independent sovereign state; for from this time onwards, the whole of Koya country, 'native' or 'ceded', was now virtually under the control of the Colony Government, and all matters of political importance must now be referred to the Governor. The treaty also ushered in a period of eighteen years of utter confusion in Koya, for when Bai Kantha died shortly after the treaty of retrocession in 1872,<sup>2</sup> there was an interregnum which was ended only by the coronation of Bai Kompa Bomboli in 1890. This was the second interregnum (1872-1890). But the Koya people put the blame mainly on the 'KOTH0' arguing that the length of Bai Kanta's reign could only be attributed to his refusal to assume the Bai Kompa title. They believed their argument to be quite justified by the short reign of his regent, Nemgbana Gbotho Gbonko, who was also a weakling and died in early 1873.

When Bai Kantha died in 1872, no successor was crowned, but a triumvirate comprising Alimamy Lahai Bundu as regent, and two Queens namely Bome Ruffa (a Kmamra) and Bome Gbashia (a Fallah).<sup>3</sup> But their

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (1857-62). Vol. II. Treaty No. 7 of February 1, 1862.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1863-1881) Vol. V, p. 334. Treaty No. 6 February 26, 1872.
  3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.1.76.

government brought neither peace nor prestige in the country. Instead it brought divisions, for while Alimamy Lahai Bundu was trying to assert the citizenship of his Bunduka family, the two Queens were rivalling for political ascendancy. The decade from 1880 to 1890 was therefore, a period in which all the threads - the 'TOTHO' on the crown, the irregular successions by Queens, Nemgbenas, Rokes, and interregna, which eroded Pa Konko's constitution were brought together and these now portrayed Koya Country as a state of low political morality. The Koya People were now awaiting for that period of restoration after 1890, which might bring them once more, some form of political stability.

During the last decade of the second interregnum (1880-1890), the political confusion of Koya was heightened by the struggle for the succession between two great personalities. These were, William Lawson whose native name was Pa Yamgbe (or Prince Yamgbe) and Bockarie Bomboli.<sup>1</sup> According to Koya traditions,<sup>2</sup> both candidates and their supporters vehemently argued that the triumvirate had been a nuisance. They accused Alimamy Lahai Bundu of nepotism, who cared only for his Bunduka family; that the Queens, in their rivalry to acquire more political power, had degenerated into corruption and immorality; that through the acrimony among these leaders, the country had fallen assunder; and that if a proper King were not elected and installed who might unite the country once more, neighbouring countries such as Masimra, Marampa, and Yoni, might soon invade and partition Koya.

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.319.

2. Ibid.

Such an argument was quite pleasing to the generality of the Koya citizens, who thus diverted their attention from the activities of the triumvirate to the choice of a successor. In the selection, the character and claims of both candidates were given serious consideration.

William Lawson was the nephew of Bai Kantha, who while dying, committed his country to <sup>his</sup> charge. However, Ansumana Konkoh, of Old Benkia, was nominated Regent Chief to aid the surviving <sup>1</sup> Queens in managing the affairs of the country, but that their administration proved a failure. On retirement, he took up residence in one of the tiny islands on the Rokel River, which he named Boswosth <sup>2</sup> Islands, but would visit Freetown quite frequently. During the Yoni Expedition of 1887, he helped the Administration by marshalling the Koya warriors under the leadership of his personal friend, Pa Kaprrr Yefendeh, the leading Koya professional warrior, who performed a very remarkable piece of job. <sup>3</sup> In this war, the Yoni were defeated. After the war, William Lawson persuaded the Government to reward Koya <sup>4</sup> by extending its boundary into Yoni territory, and several towns including Makarankay, Mawoma, and Warema, which were formerly Yoni <sup>5</sup> towns, were passed on to Koya. William Lawson's attitude in this war was not a disinterested one, for he had already been campaigning to be crowned Bai Kompa of Koya, and was thus expecting both the Government

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1. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.
  2. Zachary Macaulay: Journals ... under date November 1, 1797.
  3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1 above.
  4. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 484.
  5. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.

and the Koya elders to lend him their support.

Bockarie Bomboli was the son of Pa Gbonkneh Fallah, who was<sup>1</sup> a son of Bai Bureh. Bomboli was therefore, a grandson of Bai Bureh. He was a very huge and strong man. He was very troublesome, stubborn, and would cause war, kidnapping and selling people - men, women and children alike. He would obey no orders either from the Chiefs or from the Colony Administration. For this attitude he was dreaded by<sup>2</sup> his Koya people and hated by the Colony Administration. During the suppression of the slave trade, he was, in 1857, arrested and gaoled<sup>3</sup> for kidnapping. In 1880, he was taken prisoner and kept in custody on the suggestion of T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, who was the father of his opponent, William Lawson, in the contest for the Koya Crown. On this second occasion, his arrest was based on the general charge of aiding Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu in his war against a band of Koya conspirators who had attacked Bai Sebora of Yoni. This must have been Bai Sebora Kenkeh I, who is reported to have died<sup>4</sup> in 1879. This Chief, Bai Sebora Kenkeh I, had come to Koya as guest of Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu on the invitation of the Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, to attend a peace meeting to settle a war between Masimra and Yoni which was dislocating the trade of the Colony. While this King was in Foredugu, he was attacked by some Koya people and driven to Rotifunk where he died. The Yoni people, to avenge the death of their King, invaded some parts of Koya, and were supported

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, | 13.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,           | 14.1.76. |
| Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,     | 31.1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,        | 3.2.76.  |

2. Ibid.

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 425.

4. V.R.Dorjahn: A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni - in Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No. 14 (December 1960) p. 88. Appendix.



by Alimamy Lahai Bundu. Lahai Bundu had to take this line of action against his own Koya people to clear his head from blame by the Colony Administration, because, the dead King was the Governor's invitee; and also to strengthen his good relations with the Yoni people. At that time, Lahai Bundu was regent in Koya for the last King, Bai Kantha, had died in 1872, and the joint-regency of William Lawson and Ansumama Konkoh of Benkia, had proved unsuccessful and had collapsed within a few months after their appointment to the office.

Released from the second imprisonment, Bockarie Bomboli became very friendly with the Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, who would use him as his escort in his expeditions up-country, for which he (Bomboli) had already adopted the name of William Rowe, <sup>1</sup> in honour of the Governor. In this way, he was trying to reaffirm his renewed friendship with the Administration whose support he very much needed at the election; so that both William Lawson and Bockarie Bomboli were lobbying the Administration for their patronage.

Still convinced that the 'KOTH0' on the crown was still lingering, the Koya elders decided to have it lifted once and for all. They invited the famous soothsayer, Pa Foi Yimisa to tell them what to do. This man told them that before the election could be done several black articles <sup>2</sup> would have to be provided and the children of Bai Kompa Ke Mant, begged with a large sum of money to lift the

1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 425.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.

Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.

The black articles included - 7 black cows; seven black sheep; seven black goats; seven black drakes; seven black cocks; seven black pots; seven yards of black cloth; seven pairs of black trousers; seven black gowns; seven black caps; and seven chains of black beads.



'KOTH0', since it was they and their father that put it on the crown. When the matter was brought before the contestants, William Lawson refused to co-operate, saying that a 'KOTH0' would have nothing to do with him as an educated man; and the elders carefully noted this remark, which might influence their future decision. Bockarie Bomboli then saw the opportunity of winning the hearts of the elders in this 'KOTH0' lifting affair, and he alone underwent the enormous expenses connected with it.

After he alone had provided all the articles, the elders went with him to the relatives of Bai Kompa Ke Mant at Maworrko and begged them to remove the 'KOTH0'.<sup>2</sup> The money and the articles were handed to Pa Kegbana Wonko who was the head of the family, and who readily agreed. After consulting his people however, they all agreed with the proviso that they should put him up as candidate on the ground that it was he who removed the 'KOTH0', and that "they were quite ready to put on their father's trousers",<sup>3</sup> by which they meant, they were quite prepared to contest for the crown. After the meeting they relayed their findings at the 'KOTH0' lifting ceremony, and later, their desire to contest.

Just after this 'KOTH0' lifting ceremony, Bome Ruffa, head of the Queens and member of the triumvirate, and who had been mainly responsible for the obstruction of the election of a new King,<sup>4</sup> suddenly died. To the relatives of the deceased Queen, this was a

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1. Oral Traditions  
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
Pa Alimamy Kanu Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.
  2. Oral Traditions  
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.  
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.

serious tragedy; but to the generality of the Koya people, it was a good sign that the 'KOTH0' had been finally removed. This incident prevented the remaining members of the triumvirate, Alimamy Lahai Bundu and Bome Gbashia, from continuing their obstructionist machinations. The death of this Queen also emboldened Kegbana Wonko to contest, believing that it was a sign that his ancestor, Bai Kompa Ke Mant, had accepted him as a true successor to the throne. The contest thus became a three-cornered fight - William Lawson, Bockarie Bomboli, and Kegbana Wonko.

In the contest, William Lawson first put forth his claims - that maternally his mother was granddaughter of Bai Farma I and that he was therefore great grandson of this king; that he had fought for the extension of the Koya boundaries into Masimra, Yoni and Ribit territories - to Rosolo Creek, Bath Fep, and the Kamaranka River, respectively;<sup>1</sup> that he was a retired civil servant and that therefore, was a good friend of the Administration, and that in fact, he had acted as Regent in Koya. He concluded his argument by stressing that if elected, he would bring more blessings upon Koya; but that on the contrary, if Bockarie Bomboli were elected more trouble would be the immediate consequence. These arguments sounded quite plausible, but the people had to wait for those of Kegbana Wonko and Bockarie Bomboli.

<sup>2</sup>  
Kegbana Wonko next took the floor. He argued that he was the oldest surviving member of Bai Kompa Ke Mant Ruling House, and that it was he who performed the ceremony of the lifting of the 'KOTH0'. He concluded that he should be crowned as a test - that is, if he did not live long, it would mean that the 'KOTH0' was still active;

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 324.

2. Ibid.

but that if he lived for a long time and that his rule was successful that would be sufficient proof that the 'KOTH0' had been finally removed. The elders only noted this argument and invited Bockarie Bomboli to put forth his claims.

1

Bockarie Bomboli began by first pleading with the elders to abandon the idea of Kompa Ke Mant Ruling House being an established Ruling House. His reasons were that Ke Mant was a stranger being a Bangura from Masimra, who had their own crown in that country; that if Kegbana Wonko were elected, it would mean that the Banguras of Masimra would have the right to claim the Koya Crown as well. He then stressed that if the elders insisted on crowning Kegbana Wonko, a written agreement should be signed whereby the Bai Simra Crown would in future, rotate between the Banguras of Masimra on the one hand, and the Kamaras and Fallas of Koya on the other. He then hit the point on the constant boundary dispute between Koya and Masimra which might result in the annexation of the former to the latter if Kegbana Wonko were crowned a Bai Kompa in Koya. He concluded this point by imploring the elders not to crown Kegbana Wonko, but that he and his people should only be rewarded for their role in the removal of the 'KOTH0', which they themselves and their ancestor had laid on the crown. On the basis of this argument of Bomboli, the elders immediately rejected the idea of an agreement, and eliminated the candidature of Kagbana Wonko.

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Bockarie Bomboli now turned his attention to William Lawson. He argued that William Lawson was a perfect stranger in Koya, his father, Thomas George Lawson being a Popo man who only happened to marry one of their sisters by which marriage William Lawson was born;

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 324.

2. Ibid.

that if such a man were elected, that would establish the right of every stranger to the Koya Crown, be he a Sierra Leonean or Coaster (person from down the coast - Nigeria or the Gold Coast etc.); that the elders should recall that it was because Bai Kompa Ke Mant was a stranger from Masimra, that was why he had no respect for the Koya elders including Pa Dick Ke Mant who gave him the crown, and sympathy for the Koya people but instead, he sold the country to the 'White Man', and finally put 'KOTHO' on the crown which had caused the untimely deaths of so many prominent leaders in Koya including the most recent death of Yan Bome Ruffa; that if William Lawson were elected being a stranger, he would bring more 'KOTHO' on the crown. This argument so thrilled the elders that they held consultations on it alone and immediately abolished the Kompa Ke Mant from the list of established Ruling Houses. But this did not eliminate the candidature of William Lawson; he was still a formidable candidate and it would need stronger points to knock him out.

Turning to the question of the Yoni Expedition of 1887, Bockarie Bomboli<sup>1</sup> pointed out that it was not a one man's affair alone but that of the whole Koya people; that he in particular, was one of the war men who fought on the side of the Administration, and had previously accompanied Governor Rowe in his expeditions, for which the latter gave him his name of William Rowe - this was enough evidence of his being a very good friend of the Administration and as such, if elected the Government would bring more blessings into Koya. Continuing on this question of the Yoni Expedition, he accused William Lawson of being a swindler, having squandered the stipend given for the Koya Warriors for their role in the war. At this point, Pa Kappr Yefendeh was asked

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.324.



to testify and he confirmed Bomboli's allegations against William Lawson on the point of the stipends that he never gave them any money whatsoever. On hearing this revelation, the warriors who were at the meeting, got enraged against Lawson and had to be pacified by the elders. To crown him therefore, he concluded, would be to crown a swindler.

The question of the Yoni Expedition reveals two significant issues. Firstly, as Bomboli had rightly argued, that expedition was not the concern of one man alone, but of all the countries whose chiefs had concluded treaties of peace, friendship, and protection with the British Government. During the time of the expedition, Koya country had neither King nor a Nemgbana. The country was however, under the control of Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu, whose predecessors, Momodu Bundu and Alimamy Sailley Bundu had signed treaties, which were never repudiated but remained binding. In fact, Lahai Bundu himself later signed similar treaties. In these treaties, it was clearly stipulated that

"the said Kings, Chiefs, and Headmen also agree that in the event of any war or attack being made on the Colony or its dependencies, the Lieutenant-Governor of the same applying to all or any of the said parties to this convention for aid, they shall each furnish a number of such able-bodied men for military service who shall be fed and paid at the rate of 2d per day during the time they are so employed. The Kings, Chiefs, and Headmen to receive such further compensation as their services may entitle them to. And also when no longer required may return to their respective countries at the expense of the said Colony."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Momodu Bundu signed treaty No. 6 of May 25, 1819 together with Pa Nemgbana, Pa Ka Konko London and Pa Katena, thus proving that by this time, he had been wholly entrenched into the Koya ruling class. During the confusion in Koya in the 1830's and in the interregnum of 1838 to 1859, he alone in Koya signed treaties, such as Treaty No. 29 of September 23, 1831, No. 31 of April 16, 1836, No. 32 of April 16, 1836, No. 34 of March 28, 1837, and No. 35 of February 13, 1841. His successor, Alimamy Bockarie Sailley, signed Treaties No. 67 of April 27, 1857, and No. 1 of April 2, 1861, together with Bai Kantha and several other Koya Chiefs. Alimamy Lahai Bundu himself signed Treaty No. 7 of January 24, 1862 and of February 1, 1862.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1857), Vol. II, p. 331; Treaty No. 32 of April 16, 1836.



It should be recalled that Koya country, up to Songo Town, had, by 1861, been ceded to the British Government and although some portion of the ceded territory had been retroceded in 1872, it still remained in practice, a dependency of the Colony; so that during the Yoni Expedition of 1887, it was incumbent on the Regent Alimamy Lahai Bundu and the other Koya Chiefs to respond to the Governor's request to provide the necessary military strength to aid the Colony.

Secondly, by the terms of this treaty, it is revealed that whoever rendered such military service was being paid, including the Chiefs of the country which furnished such warriors; and in this case, it was Koya. It was this payment to the warriors William Lawson might have squandered which made him vulnerable to the attacks of Bockarie Bomboli. Finally, Alimamy Lahia Bundu knowing fully well that he was but a regent, would be most seriously inclined to side with a stronger force like the Administration, in order to strengthen his position. Bockarie Bomboli was therefore, right in saying that the Yoni Expedition was a matter for everybody in Koya, and William Lawson should not therefore, claim the credit solely for himself. He would thus need other points to defeat Bockarie Bomboli.

Bockarie Bomboli then went on to put forth his claims based on his paternal ancestors<sup>1</sup> - that he was the son of Pa Gbonkneh Fallah, who was the eldest son of Bai Bureh; that Bai Bureh was the son of Bai Kompa Ke Kent, who was the eldest son of Bai Kompa Pethru; that Bai Kompa Pethru was the eldest son of Ka Konko London whom Farma Thami

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.1.76.

crowned the first King of Koya, and on whose head he emptied the basket of blessing of Kingship. He therefore, concluded that he was the grandson of Bai Bureh, a great grandson of Bai Kompa Pethru, and a very great grandson of Pa Konko London; that all those ancestors were Fallahs, and that the Koya Crown originally belonged to the Fallahs and the Kamaras and not the Banguras of Masimra or Popo men. He finally concluded that he had in fact, been nominated successor by the late Bai Kantha; while William Lawson, only a regent, and a job which he could not even do well. To fail to abide by the injunction of that King would be another 'KOTH0' on the crown.

Bockarie Bomboli's arguments were not only an exhibition of oratory, but were also so convincing, that they helped him to enlist the support of the Kamaras of Magbeni, whose champion, Pa Sorie Kamara, now declared for him. Just about that time Alimamy Lahai Bundu became<sup>1</sup> seriously ill. Pa Sorie Kamara then solicited the help of the other Bundukas of Foredugu for Bomboli, promising that in the event of the death of their Alimamy, an immediate election would be held, if they declared for Bomboli. They agreed and Bomboli had now secured the support of the Koya leaders - the Chiefs, the Fallahs, the Kamaras,<sup>2</sup> and even the professional warriors. In their customary consultation, they unanimously eliminated William Lawson and Kegbana Wonko, and elected Bockarie Bomboli. But the result was not immediately announced. The people were only told to go to Rothumba where the elected candidate would be crowned by Governor Rowe - little knowing that Rowe had gone on leave and had been replaced by Governor Hay.

The situation at the contest created much confusion in Koya.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 329.

2. Ibid.

But Bockarie Bomboli said to Hay in a conversation, that he had been<sup>1</sup> in charge of the whole country throughout the interregnum period. This statement is incorrect, for it was Lahai Bundu of Foredugu that was in charge as regent. Bockarie Bomboli might have been only a 'district Chief'; but he made this statement in order to buttress his claims before Governor Hay. Coupled with this confusion, there was the question of resumption of British control over retroceded Koya.

To avert any impending conflict that might disrupt the trade of the Colony, Governor Hay rushed to Rothumba to hold a meeting with the Chiefs, at which three issues arose - the resumption of British control over retroceded Koya, the revival of the Koya Kingship, and the resumption of the payment of the stipends. Present at the<sup>2</sup> meeting on the Government side were, Major Moore, Acting Inspector-General of Police; J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of the Aborigines Department; Captain Compton, U.H.C.S., "Countess of Derby"; W.M. Huggins, Manager, "Eastern and Koya Districts; and M. Martion, Agent, Compagnie, Francise, at Rothumba; Messrs. G.W. Dougan, King and other traders from Tasso, were all present on the Government side. On the<sup>3</sup> side of the natives were, W.T.G. Lawson; Ansumana Konko of Benkia; Mbalmodu of Roponga; Dick Wola and Mara Makenthy of Romange; Sinneh Bundu, Alie Bundu, and Momo Bai Ruffa, all of Foredugu; Santigie Sorie Kamara of Magbeni; and the four Queens of Koya, namely, Bome Ruffa, Bome Gbashia, Bome Bintha, and Bome Ballay Mankay. It should be noted that Bockarie Bomboli's name is not included in the list and no reason given for the omission. It is probably that this was one sign of the Government's dislike of him.

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1. C.O.267/381. Enclosure in Despatch No. 123. Hay to Knutsford, 21.3.90. Notes on a conversation between Hay and Bomboli, newly crowned King of Qoia, as BEY COMPA of Qoia.
  2. C.O.267/381. Enclosure No. 2 in Despatch No. 96 in Hay to Knutsford; 11.3.90. Notes of proceedings at a meeting of KWIA Chiefs on 10th March, 1890.
  3. Ibid.

On the question of retroceded Koya, Captain Lendy had reported that the Koya people had expressed their wish that the British Government should take control of their country.<sup>1</sup> Lendy was the officer commanding the troops stationed at Robari after the Yoni Expedition of 1887; but as a matter of extra duties he would survey all the neighbouring countries that were involved in this Expedition, whether anti-or pro- Government. The countries he would survey were, Yoni, Mabang, Malal, Koya, Ribbi, Kolifa, Gbonkolenken, Konike, Bompeh, Senahun, Komgbora, Kori, Fakunya, Marampa, Masimra, and Maforki. The purpose of the surveillance was to send intelligence to the Government and to see that peace and order were maintained in those areas. He was always reimbursed by the Government for whatever expenditure he incurred in performing such extra duties.<sup>2</sup>

At the meeting the Chiefs repudiated any desire for the resumption by the Government, of the control of their country, for if they were to agree, they would have lost their entire country to the 'White Man'.<sup>3</sup> According to the notes taken at the meeting,

".... the Chiefs said the subject was quite new to them. They were perfectly aware that if Her Majesty desired, she could resume active control over the whole country. They were under her for help, but they beg her not to resume active control over the country which she had given back to them."<sup>4</sup>

The consent of the Chiefs was necessary before the resumption of control because, their co-operation was very much needed in the maintenance of

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1. C.O.267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 84, 4.3.90.
  2. C.O.267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 140, 2.4.90. Enclosure - Captain Lendy's Account of travelling expenses.
  3. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.  
 Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76.
  4. C.O.267/381. Enclosure No. 2 in Hay to Knutsford 96, 11.3.90. Notes on the proceedings at the meeting of KWIA Chiefs held at Rothumba on 10th day of March, 1890.



law and order in the territory knowing fully well the troubles that had taken place in Koya during the Kossoh wars of the 1830's. But as they had repudiated such a desire, the matter of resumption of control over their territory had to be abandoned, but not without a warning that if any trouble arose in the area, the Queen would take<sup>1</sup> back their country whether they liked it or not.

Turning to the election of the new King, Hay expressed grave concern over the alleged trouble caused by the rivalry between Bockarie Bomboli and William Lawson for the succession to the office of King of Koya country. Each candidate had accused the other of misdeeds which unfitted him from assuming the office. Hay however, refrained from going into the matter of right or wrong, but only outlined the disadvantages of either candidate who might be eventually elected, stressing that,

"Whether they choose Bockarie Bomboli or whether they choose Lawson the Government would have to reserve its approval, for in the case of Lawson, it would be a matter of discretion whether he would receive his stipend due to the King - he being a Government pensioner - and in the case of Bomboli he could not be recognised until he explained things to the Government."<sup>2</sup>

In this way, the Governor had entirely left the choice of the candidate to the people themselves. But this was not a difficult matter for them for the election had in fact, been already down in their customary way before they went to the meeting at Rothumba. But they had to retire to a private place to hold fresh consultations in which they unanimously elected Bockarie Bomboli the second time. The new King assumed the

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1. PRO.C0267/381. Enclosure No.2 in Hay to Knutsford 96,11,3,90. Notes on the Proceedings at the Meeting of KWA Chiefs held at Rothumba on the 10th day of March, 1890.
  2. C.O.267/381. Hay to Knutsford 96, 11.3.90. Enclosure No. 2 Note on the proceedings at the meeting of Kwia Chiefs held at Ruthumba, 10.3.90.



title of Bai Kompa Bomboli. He seemed to have been Bai Kompa VI<sup>1</sup> for according to Koya traditions, thirteen rulers seemed to have ruled Koya after Pa Konko London and before Bai Kantha who was succeeded by Bockarie Bomboli. Of these thirteen rulers, five<sup>2</sup> assumed the Bai Kompa title.

The rejection of Lawson can be briefly commented upon. Although he had been appointed by Bai Kantha to be between the Government and the Koya people, and that through his father's<sup>3</sup> influence he had acted as regent of Koya, succession to kingship<sup>4</sup> among the Temne in the nineteenth century was patrilineal; and Lawson's claims were matrilineal, being the son of the granddaughter of Bai Farma I, whom old T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter had married. Besides, his father had been a perfect stranger. The retirement of his father also probably affected his chances of winning the Chiefship. This is also<sup>5</sup> the suggestion made by Fyfe. To the Koya people, any departure from patrilineal claims would be tantamount to 'KOTHO', the effect of which the people dreaded very much. A second reason was probably because, the people of Koya at that time were afraid to crown an educated person in English, for as William Lawson himself later revealed before the Royal Commissioner, Sir David Chalmers who inquired into the Hut Tax rebellion, that "the natives seem to derive more from the Mohammedan

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Alhaji Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. These were Bai Kompa, Pethru, Bai Kompa Ke Kent, Bai Kompa Ke Foro, Bai Kompa Ke Mant, and Bai Kompa Feth.
3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 484.
4. Oral Traditions - as in Note 1 above.
5. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 255.

training ... than from the English ..."<sup>1</sup> In the case of Bockarie Bomboli, he was one of themselves, and a direct descendant of Bai Farma I, a very strong claim on the point of patrilineal succession.

After the coronation, the new King had to appear before the Governor to explain his former conduct during which time he denied all allegations against him, of subversion and disloyalty to the Government.<sup>2</sup> He was thus recognised on the conditions that<sup>3</sup> he obeyed the instructions he would receive from the Governor of the Colony or his officers; that the roads of his country were kept clean and in good condition; that the traders were not molested; that justice was done between man and man; that all the complaints he and his people could not adjust should be referred to the Governor; and that the peace of the country should not be disturbed. Although the Administration did not like Bomboli, yet they had to prefer him to William Lawson whom they always considered a deceitful man. Later, we note Governor Probyn styling him "Chief Yamgbe (W.T.G. Lawson), the presumptive successor to Bai Kompa, the Paramount Chief of the country".<sup>4</sup> Still later in 1911, when the office of Paramount Chief became vacant in Koya and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu was acting as regent, William Lawson presented his claims for the chiefship and for certain lands, Probyn dismissed them as not genuine describing them as "Neither claim appears substantiated - his [Lawson] object seems to be to obtain Government recognition against the wishes of the Koya people".<sup>5</sup>

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol. LX - Chalmers Report on the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate; Appendix II, p. 92, Nos. 1854-56. - Evidence by W.T.G. Lawson.
  2. C.O.267/381. Enclosure in Hay to Knutsford, 123, 21.3.90. Notes on conversation at interview with Bockarie Bomboli, the newly elected Bey Compa of Kwia.
  3. Ibid.
  4. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Rt. Hon. Lord Long, M.P. No. 406, 1.10.19
  5. C.O.267/536. W.T.G. Lawson to Merewether (Conf. 7), 7.12.11 - as enclosure in Merewether to Lord Long Conf. 7, 9.12.11.

The last issue at this meeting was the resumption of the payment of the stipends which had been suspended since the Yoni Expedition of 1887. The Government now agreed to pay these stipends from 1888, so that after his coronation Bockarie Bomboli did not only become King of Koya, but also a stipendiary of the Government with three years arrears of payment (1888-1890). For two years after his coronation the new King, Bai Kompa Bomboli, busily engaged himself to reorganise the affairs of his country in order to prevent a conflict with either his people or the traders which might lead to his deposition.

The election of Bai Kompa Bomboli meant more than a mere succession to the Koya Throne. It was a restoration. On this point the question could then be asked - what was restored in 1890 in Koya by the election of Bockarie Bomboli? The answer to this question can best be found by appealing to the immediate reaction of the Koya people themselves to his election, and secondly to his mode of administration.

One would have expected resistance as an immediate consequence of the election of Bockarie Bomboli, a man who had caused so much trouble in Koya. But surprisingly, this was quite the reverse. As soon as he had been elected at Rothumba, the news was relayed all over the country by special runners. There was jubilation in every town and village and this lasted for over a month.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his reign,<sup>2</sup> the country was peaceful for no one dared oppose his administration. It was in fact, felt the elders elected him not so much for his sound claims but because, being so troublesome and rebellious, he was considered the man best suited to the task of restoring peace in

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. Ibid.

the land which, for nearly two decades (1872-1890), had been torn<sup>1</sup> assunder by local rivalries and mutual mistrust.

Concerning his mode of administration, Bai Kompa Bomboli first set out to reorganise his country. He immediately fulfilled his promise by bringing back the Kamaras of Magbeni into the ruling circle. He requested his most outstanding supporter, Pa Sorie Kamara who was their leader, to produce the Nemgbana. Pa Sorie Kamara then, having consulted the other Kamaras of Magbeni, chose Pa Simor Kamara whom Bomboli crowned as Nemgbana Simor. Bai Kompa Bomboli allowed the new Nemgbana to reside at Magbeni and to rule Upper Koya on his behalf.<sup>2</sup> This was in accordance with Pa Konko London's plan. He restored the Queen's system and appointed the eldest sister of the Magbeni Kamaras as their Bome Ruffa, the head Queen to succeed the late Bome Ruffa. She should also be the head of the Ramena Society. These appointments were very pleasing to the Magbeni Kamaras who, in consequence, did not<sup>3</sup> hesitate to unite in support of the Bomboli administration.

In Lower Koya, he appointed a Fallah from Gbabai as his Kaprrr Kompa and revived the Alimamyship of Rothumba from among the<sup>4</sup> Susu settlers. The Gbabai Fallash were extremely pleased for since the death of Bai Farma I, no Kaprrr Kompa had been crowned in their town. This was also the same with the Rothumba people for being Susus, their Alimamyship had been set aside since the 1850's. The restoration of the Alimamyship of Rothumba also brought additional advantage to the new King. Since that crown was a satellite of the Bundukas of Foreduku, these people now began to feel that it would be a blessing

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 336.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.



to them if they declared for the Bomboli administration. By this time, the life of Alimamy Lahai Bundu was ebbing away.

Before Bomboli's accession to the throne, there were only two Alimamys<sup>5</sup> in the whole of Koya country. These were the Alimamys of Foreduku and Rothumba. The new King decided to increase the number<sup>1</sup> to seven so as to enlarge his team of supporters. In this move, he first crowned Pa Kagbana Wonko Bangura of Maworrko, the eldest of the surviving descendants of Bai Kompa Ke Mant, and who had earlier opposed his candidature. Bomboli performed this act as a fulfilment of his promise that Kagbana Wonko and his people should be rewarded for having performed the ceremonies of the removal of the 'KOTHU' put on the crown by their ancestor Bai Kompa Ke Mant and they themselves. Thus, the Maworrko people no longer bore any grievance against Bai Kompa Bomboli; instead, they were now prepared to co-operate with him in his administration of the country.

One of the most difficult problems Bai Kompa Bombeli had to face in his reorganization process, Koya traditions emphasize, was<sup>2</sup> his attempt to crown an Alimamy at Foreduku. Unlike the coronation of other subchiefs, it brought in the 'White Man' and some other chiefs (not Kings), of the Southern Temne countries. This was because, the man whom Bockarie Bomboli wanted was not the person the Bundukas wanted and the matter had to be settled by the Administrator Quayle-Jones

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, | 13.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,           | 14.1.76. |

2. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma Koya Chiefdom,    | 14.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, | 13.1.76. |
| Pa Jibrilla Kanu Masorie M'Bamba, Koya Chiefdom, | 14.1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Kabia Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,        | 15.1.76. |
| Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,    | 31.1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Turay Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,        | 3.2.76.  |
| Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,         | 3.2.76.  |
| Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,       | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Foray Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,         | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Bassie Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,        | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,         | 19.2.76. |
| Pa Kappr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,          | 19.2.76. |
| Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,       | 19.2.76. |



at a great meeting of these Chiefs at Rothumba. The truth of this traditional account can best be assessed by reference to written sources.

In 1892, a very important meeting was held at Rothumba on the shores of the Sierra Leone River. The main purpose of the meeting was to elect an Alimamy for the Bundukas of Foredugu to take the place of Alimamy Lahai Bundu, a stipendiary of the Government, who had died earlier that year. Although this meeting was originally meant for the election of an Alimamy for the Bundukas, it turned out to be a concert of events and ideologies with the principal dignitaries involved, including the Administration. Describing and analysing these events and ideologies will reveal many important issues about the history of the Southern Temne country during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

To begin with, when Alimamy Lahai Bundu died, Bai Kompa Bomboli sent to the Government in Freetown to report the incident. He had to take this line of action because that part of Koya country where the death occurred was a dependency of the Colony and the Alimamyship of Foredugu had been recognised by the Government, for its first three successive rulers - Momodu Bundu, Bockarie Sailley, and Lahai Bundu - had signed treaties of peace, friendship and protection with the Government, and Kompa Bomboli himself only became King on the approval of the Government. The then Governor, Sir James Hay, accordingly instructed him by letter to choose a suitable person to fill the office.<sup>2</sup> Acting in accordance with this instruction, and relying on the custom of his country which gave him the right to choose his

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1. P.R.O. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to the Rt. Hon. Lord Knutsford 3.3.92.
  2. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford. 100, 3.3.92.

sub-chiefs, Bai Kompa Bomboli chose Pa Bai Ruffa Bundu, son of the late Alimamy Lahai Bundu and "shut him up in the 'Kanta' in preparation to instal him as the Alimamy of the Bundunkas of Foredugu". This selection was challenged by Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu, younger brother of Alimamy Lahai Bundu. In consequence scheming was heightened to such an extent that the peace of the country was threatened. The Bundukas who felt that it was their right to choose their own Alimamy, secretly sent a message to the Governor that Kompa Bomboli was strongly supported in this move by Pa Sorie Kamara of Magbeni, who was one of his strongest Santigies. The message also added that Pa Sorie Kamara being a brother of Pa Nemgbana Simor, and relying on this relationship had openly defied the Government -

"... openly defied the Government saying that Sinneh Bundu was a fool to trust the white man; that seeing he was not to be Alimamy but they had chosen their own despite the Governor, that the country was their own and they could do what they liked; and they should not mind the Government,"

On account of these reports Quayle-Jones sent for Bai Kompa Bomboli to meet him in Freetown immediately to explain his conduct. Upon his failure to turn up at the appointed time, the Administrator, Quayle-Jones, after consulting J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent for Native Affairs Department, "summoned a meeting of the principal Chiefs of the neighbourhood at Rotumba on Wednesday, 24th ultimo."

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 338.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 338, and C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford, 100, 3.3.92.

4. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 338.

5. Ibid.

6. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford, 100, 3.3.92.

7. Ibid.

Quayle-Jones proceeded to Rothumba to conduct the election himself. His own party included Messrs. J.C. Turay, an official of the Government; Sannako Mardi, Interpreter, Department of Native Affairs; Captain Doyle of the Somerset, Light Infantry as his Aide-de Camp; Captain Donovan, A.S.C., ADC, and Private Secretary; and Mr. Stuart, of the French Company. <sup>1</sup> Parkes being unwell, did not attend the meeting. <sup>2</sup> On the part of the natives, the crowd of male adults alone in attendance was estimated to be over 300. <sup>3</sup> These included Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs, and Headmen from Koya itself, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra countries. Yoni was not represented.

When the Colonial steamer, "Countess of Derby" which conveyed the Administrator, had anchored at Rothumba shore, Quayle-Jones as a first step, invited Bai Kompa Bomboli and Sorie Kamara to meet him on board, which they promptly did. When they met him, he refused to shake hands with them, and sternly upbraided them for their conduct - Bai Kompa Bomboli, for choosing an Alimamy which was in "defiance of the Government", <sup>4</sup> and Sorie Kamara, for acting seditiously by saying that Sinneh Bundu was a fool to trust the 'White Man'. The two Chiefs did not argue but only apologised instantly. Bai Kompa Bomboli expressed that "... he was very sorry to have made the Governor angry, that he was the Governor's servant and could not disobey his orders; that he had not understood the letter was to order him to Freetown, and as the other matter not being explained

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1. C0267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.

to him properly for what he had understood was to choose and crown<sup>1</sup> as Alimamy whoever he thought best." Quayle-Jones believed that Bai Kompa Bomboli was lying,<sup>2</sup> but in a situation of affairs such as this, he thought it best to dissemble on condition that the King "... state what he said in the open Barrie before the assembled Chiefs and people and at the same time, stating to them all that he was only the Queen's servant put to look after the country for her."<sup>3</sup> In the case of Sorie Kamara, he only begged pardon of the Government and Sinneh Bundu, and that being a younger man, he was led astray by the excitement in connection with the selection of Ruffa, and he only<sup>4</sup> used big and empty words.

At the meeting in the open Barrie, the two Chiefs apologised openly - Bai Kompa, to the Government; and Sorie Kamara, to the Governor and Sinneh Bundu. Quayle-Jones being satisfied with them, forgave them. The Administrator believed that this would have a far better effect than punishing them - for he said ,

"I consider such statements to be made openly by these two men would have a great effect in lowering their pretensions than punishment would have had, and would also, while asserting the rights of Her Majesty as Sovereign of the country, be appreciated by the assembled Chiefs as combining the 'fortiter in re' with 'suaviter in modo', for many of them would be quite alive to the fact that I well knew what was really the state of affairs and had only built a bridge to permit Bey Compa's retiring from the position he had unadvisedly taken up in opposition to Her Majesty's Government."<sup>5</sup>

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1. C0267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford, 3.3.92

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



By this method, the Administrator had killed three birds with a stone. Firstly, Bai Kompa Bomboli had been humiliated and thwarted from asserting the right of his candidate, Pa Bai Ruffa. Secondly, the sovereign right of Her Majesty the Queen of England, had been practically and effectively asserted in Koya by Bai Kompa Bomboli himself, by declaring he was the servant of the Queen put to look after the affairs of the country for Her, even though according to the previous meeting at Rothumba between Sir James Hay and the Koya Chiefs on March 10, 1890, the Chiefs had repudiated any desire for the resumption of British control over retroceded Koya.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, it was a warning to all and the assembled Chiefs that none of them in all the ceded territories had the right to crown any important sub-chief without the prior approval of Her Majesty's Government.

The proceedings at the election were interesting. The Administrator had asked the Chiefs to retire or to "hang heads after the country fashion",<sup>2</sup> to elect the Alimamy, at which consultation the Administration was represented by Mr. J.C. Turay, and Mr. Sannokoh Madi. The result was that Sinneh Bundu was elected, Bai Kompa Bomboli, who was himself present at the consultation, presented the elected candidate to the Administrator who provided the piece of white cloth<sup>3</sup> for the turban as a sign of assent.

<sup>4</sup> According to Koya traditions, the Bundukas had privately met in secret and cast lots by pouring some potion called 'AN BARRI'

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1. C.O.267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 96, 11.3.90.

2. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92,

3. Ibid.

4. Oral Traditions

Yan Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,  
Pa Alimamy Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,  
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,  
Pa Foray Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,

4.2.76.  
4.2.76.  
4.2.76.  
4.2.76.



on several cut banana stocks. Each banana stock represented a proposed candidate, including Pa Bai Ruffa and Sinneh Bundu themselves. This was done in the night of the day Quayle-Jones was to arrive at Rothumba, in readiness to present the candidate in the morning. Early in the morning, when they went to look at the banana stocks, only that of Sinneh Bundu had survived - the rest had died. This was how Sinneh Bundu was traditionally selected. When they met in the open Barrie, on the instruction of the Administrator to elect the Alimamy, this was told to the assembled Chiefs, and Bai Kompa Bomboli who for the first time had come to know how the Bundukas used to elect their Alimamy, readily accepted Alimamy Sinneh Bundu as the rightful successor of Alimamy Lahai Bundu.

The crowning ceremony was performed<sup>1</sup> in the open air by Bai Kompa Bomboli himself assisted by a Muslim 'Priest',<sup>2</sup> in the presence of the Administrator. A bullock was sacrificed and slaughtered to mark the occasion, the head of which was offered to Quayle-Jones as an acceptance of Her Majesty's supreme power.<sup>3</sup> This was followed by great jubilation, in which the Chiefs, led by Bai Suba An Pessor of Magbele danced before the Administrator who was extremely pleased, as Sinneh Bundu "was the person whom it was desired by this Government should be elected and crowned",<sup>4</sup> and that this dance staged by Bai Suba An Pessor and the other Chiefs was a mark of great honour to him and Her Majesty whom he represented.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 338.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92.

5. Ibid.

Before the assembly could disperse, the Smart family of Mahera, led by Pa Ngombu Tham Bendu II of Rokon and Charles<sup>Smart</sup> of Mahera staged a drama to have the boundary between Koya and Masimra altered. This boundary had been fixed at the Rosolo Creek by Sir James Hay. They brought this matter to Quayle-Jones to change the boundary putting it at the Mabiri River, by which means Mahera could have been annexed to the Masimra country.<sup>1</sup> By this move, they were seizing the opportunity of the humiliation Bai Kompa Bomboli had just suffered from the hands of the Administrator and thought they would gain the upper hand over Bai Kompa Bomboli. They were mistaken. Quayle-Jones sternly rebuked them, stressing that he had no right to alter the boundary which had been fixed by his predecessor, and in fact, he was only acting for Sir James Hay who had fixed such a boundary.<sup>2</sup> He reminded Charles Smart that he was under Bai Kompa Bomboli, and as such, he would suffer for any subversion he might stage against his superior. Turning to Ngombu Tham Bendu II, he clearly told him that he was under Bai Simra while in Masimra, and if came to Koya, he would be under, Bai Kompa Bomboli. Further, if Ngombu Tham Bendu II (since he had dual citizenship of Masimra and Koya), wanted to be sub-chief in Koya, he should approach the Bai Kompa Bomboli to crown him. To this, Bai Kompa Bomboli gave his consent. In this move, Quayle-Jones<sup>3</sup> was vehemently supported by Bai Suba An Pessor. Having been thus humiliated, Ngomby Than Bendu II sued for peace, begging Quayle-Jones and Bai Suba An Pessor to place him under the protection of Bai Kompa Bomboli. This was done and peace was made between them. But Ngombu

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 338.

2. C.O.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92.

3. Ibid.

Tham Bendu II was still not pleased, and so left the assembly in  
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 grief. It is significant to note that the Administrator had to support Bai Kompa Bomboli this time. The reason was probably because, Bai Kompa Bomboli's humble submission having been secured, he would be bound to support the Government. Thus Bai Kompa Bomboli's continuing to hold the office of the King of Koya was to the Administration, a matter of maintaining the "status quo".

Assessing the whole situation of this meeting at Rothumba, one important issue in relation to the Southern Temne arises. This is the enhancement of the Colony's interest. To understand this, one must query why the Kings of Maforki, Marampa, Masimra, and Yoni were not present at the meeting. Probably, they were not invited because the matter of the election of the Alimamy for the Bundukas did not concern them. That is, it was a matter only for the Koya people. In the case of the Yoni, since their humiliating defeat in the Yoni Expedition of 1887, they seemed to have kept aloof from any form of association with the rest of the Southern Temne peoples who had co-operated with the 'White Man' against them. They would ignore any matter that would concern the Koya people, in particular. Further, the vast majority of the people who attended the meeting were very good friends of the Administration. Notable examples of these were, Bai Suba An Pessor of Magbele, Ngombu Tham Bendu II of Rokon, Binneh Sankoh of Port Loko, and Santigie Sesay Loll of Rokel. These were always ready to be in good terms with the Government.

A second point to consider is that the election itself was not held at Foredugu, the capital of the Bundunkas, but at Rothumba which was a different section capital altogether, under Alimamy Brima.

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1. Ibid, and  
Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Bundu Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,

4.2.76.  
 4.2.76.  
 19.2.70.

The reason could not be inaccessibility, for Foredugu itself was accessible by boat. It was probably because, Government wanted to move the scene of activity to another area where they could easily manipulate events to their own advantage; for at Rothumba, there was already Mr. Stuart, agent of French Company, who was already preparing the ground for the success of the meeting on the Government side. Part of the preparation was his own personal hospitality to the Administrator and party.

The position of Foredugu was also another important factor. It was one of the towns on the shores of the Rokel River that controlled the trade of ceded Koya. Moreover, it had a Frontier Police Station maintained by the Government. It was therefore, very necessary for the Government to put there, a Chief who would enhance their interest; hence their support for Sinneh Bundu. Sinneh Bundu would also be a stipendiary Chief of the Government. Consequently, it would be impolitic on the part of the Government to support a candidate sponsored by Bai Kompa Bomboli whom they had long mistrusted. To Bai Kompa Bomboli, the whole proceeding was an utter humiliation, but as a stipendiary of the Government, he had to acquiesce, in order to safeguard his position; and to swallow forever, his bitterness for Sinneh Bundu, who in 1890, had opposed his election as King of Koya.<sup>1</sup>

After his humiliation at Rothumba, Bai Kompa Bomboli decided to change his tactics - this time, to renew his relationship with the Government.<sup>2</sup> Koya traditions say he went to Freetown to apologise

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. Ibid.



to the Governor for his conduct. Although the traditions do not state clearly what the apology was for, Government records disclose that he led a huge delegation in 1893, to congratulate Sir Francis Fleming on his arrival as Governor of the country. The delegation comprised all his sub-chiefs, Queens, and other principal men in Koya. The sentiments which they expressed at the meeting were also expressed in the form of a written address to the Governor.<sup>1</sup> In their address, the Chiefs and their King expressed their hearty congratulations to the Governor on his safe arrival to their shores; their gratitude to her gracious friend Her Majesty the Queen and her Government for their labour of humanity for the poor natives on which they spent thousands of pounds and hundreds of lives of their children; thanked the Queen for the peace her Government had introduced into their country; thanked Sir Francis Fleming for his own merciful disposition in helping and protecting them, the poor and helpless aborigines. They further recalled the good works of previous Governors such as Sir John Hill, Sir Arthur Kennedy, Sir John Pope Hennessy, and Governor Havelock, "who devoted much of their time and substance to raise us from our state of ignorance in which we are and saved us from tyranny and oppression". They concluded their address with prayers for the prosperity and power of England and for the long life of the Queen and Governor. Fleming received this address gladly and forwarded it to the Secretary of State, The Marquis of Ripon, K.G.,<sup>2</sup> who only acknowledged receipt of it, but refused to make any comment.

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1. C.O.267/404. Encl. in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 350, 15.12.93. Address from Bai Kompa, King of Koya.

2. C.O.267/404. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 350, 15.12.93.



From the contents of the address, it can be noted that Bai Kompa Bomboli was bidding for good relationship with the Government, in that there are strong elements of submission to the British authority. The reminiscence of the list of the Governors is indicative of the fact that since the treaty of cession 1861, and of retrocession in 1872, ceded Koya had been under the strong influence of the British Government. This in itself, is an important revelation in the history of the Koya country.

Having been now convinced that cordial relationship between himself and the Government had now been restored, Bai Kompa Bomboli returned to the task of reorganising the politics of his country. This time, he turned his attention to Upper Koya. He first created the Alimamyship of Mawoma by crowning a Kanu of the Mabanta Temne stock as Pa Alimamy Kanu, and encouraged him to strengthen the Poro Society. This was because, Mawoma being near the boundary between Koya and Yoni, this new Alimamy and his Poro men would guard the frontier. This took place probably about 1894.

The next post Bai Kompa Bomboli created in Upper Koya was the Pa Kawan (Chair). This officer would preside over matters to be decided while the Chiefs were in the Kantha, and also to act for the Nemgbana whenever the latter would be unable to perform the duties of his office. Pa Kawan would have no special section of the country to control. He could be chosen from any section of the country and could reside anywhere in the country.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the Office of Pa Kawan, James has noted that

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

"It is interesting to note an office found in few other Temne Chiefdoms, is found in Koia. This is Pa Kuan, the man who accepts the chosen of the people and looks after him in the Kanta bush until he emerges as a full potentate. The necessity for such an officer in Koia, where the Neng Bana (equal to Kapprr Masim elsewhere), would be dead is obvious."<sup>1</sup>

Among the Southern Temne, the office of Pa Kawan was and is still very important. It is this officer that presides over the meetings of social, political, and cultural significance. As Hooker has rightly noted, "the title of Pa Kuan is not peculiar in Koya. There are Pa Kuans in other of the Temne Chiefdoms".<sup>2</sup>

Bai Kompa Bomboli sealed this reorganization by creating two very important chiefships among the Mabanta Temne of Upper Koya.<sup>3</sup> One was the Alikaliship of Mathenefore - to reward the Mabanta Temne in Koya for the death of Pa Therefore who had swallowed the 'sebe' (charm) and died so that the warrior, Kafiri, could be defeated, whereby peace was restored in the land. The other chiefship was the Komrabaiship of Fondu, for the purpose of securing mature advice, and hence political security.

Mathenerore and its section were very much wedged between Masimra and the Yoni borders. It was therefore, quite necessary to put there, someone of sufficient authority to maintain order and discipline on behalf of the King.<sup>4</sup> The man appointed was Dabo Turay,<sup>5</sup> and at first, the post was an Alimamyship. Koya traditions say that the creation of this post caused a big row in Koya, for it was vehemently resented by Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu, who now felt his power and authority had been threatened and in fact,

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1. G.W. James: A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law ... p.116.
  2. Hooker: Notes on James ... p. 118.
  3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 349.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.

<sup>1</sup>  
 curtailed. He therefore, went to Freetown to report the matter to Governor Cardew, so that the Governor could depose the Alimamy of Mathenefore. But Cardew refrained from taking such action. After hearing Sinneh Bundu and also Dick Wola who represented Bai Kompa Bomboli, Cardew "decided [on 3rd October 1894],<sup>2</sup> that it was wrong for the King to undermine the authority of the Alimamy of Foredugu", but that he [Sinneh Bundu] "should talk the matter over with Bai Kompa".

Bai Kompa Bomboli, in a letter dated October 3, 1894,<sup>3</sup> endeavoured to induce the Governor to reconsider his decision, on the ground that he had already "consecrated Chief Dabo to the office of Alimamy", and likewise, selected and consecrated several persons as Santigies to serve under him in the principal villages; that it now only remained for them to be publicly brought out and installed and taken to Freetown for presentation to the Governor; and that it was a sacred maxim in their country - "once a King, Alimamy, Santigie, etc. always a King, Alimamy, Santigie, etc."; and that to deviate from it meant death to the parties so consecrated and a great dishonour to the sacred traditions of the country.<sup>4</sup> Bai Kompa Bomboli stated that he was willing to deliver the new Alimamy of Mathenefore into the hands of Sinneh Bundu, in order that the latter might take the new chief to the town of Mathenefore and give him his orders as his senior in office. Cardew however, held tight to his original decision.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.

2. PRO.C.O.267/497. Enclosure in Despatch No. 406, dated 1st October, 1907 - Record of Governor's Decision on 28th September, 1907. Governor Probyn is here quoting Cardew's letter to Bai Kompa Bomboli, dated 3rd October, 1894.

3. PRO.C.O.267/497. Encl. No. 2 (Bai Kompa to Cardew-Romangay, 3rd October 1894) - in Cardew to Chamberlain, No. 406, dated October 4, 1894.

4. Ibid.



The decision of Cardew was not acted upon by either Bai Kompa Bomboli or Alimamy Sinneh Bundu in 1894. In 1895, they settled the matter at a great meeting held at Petifu near Mawoma. The nature of the settlement is described in a letter dated October 23, 1895,

"... There were present at the meeting Bai Kompa and his immediate Chief, Pa Nemgbana and his followers, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and his followers, Alikali Thoronka and his followers, Bai Kompa, thinking in the interest of peace, very undesirable to have a discussion, exercises his royal prerogative, and declared that there would be no discussion, and that he would call upon every Chief present to put aside every petty grievance and ill-will, and as he had done to shake hands in peace - then called out the Nemgbana and the Alimamy of Foredugu - taking the hand of the latter, and putting it into that of the former saying, "Nemgbana, here is your son, Alimamy, here is your father - from this date, I wish to hear no more misunderstanding between you - I am old and ailing - I wish to seek rest and my health. I therefore give you the charge of the country. Take care of it." Producing a piece of cloth he said, this is the turban of authority I give you to add to the old one. I wish to divide the cloth into two parts between you and shake hands in peace. The King then called out Prince Yamgbe (W.T.G. Lawson), took his hand and laid it on those Nemgbana and Alimamy saying, "Here is your big son and head of the princes of the country. You are to be guided by his advice in all things. A simple apology from him must be sufficient for any offence he may commit against you." The Alikali was then called out and the King taking his hand and putting it into that of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu saying "Alimamy, here is your son - take care of him, and you Alikali, take all submissions to him as your father in office."

"All orders will henceforth pass from me through the Nemgbana to the Alimamy, and from him to the Alikali and the other Chiefs. All communications to me must pass from the Alikali to the Alimamy and from the Alimamy to the Nemgbana, thence to me - any Chief departing from this routine will be punished by me - Sorie Kamara, Maka Bundu, Bai Ruffa, were then called out to shake hands in peace. The King expressing the hope that day to hear nothing more of dispute and misunderstanding between you and your families - any Chief throughout the country who shall in anyway trespass their orders and decisions for peace shall at once be reported to the Governor of Sierra Leone and I shall request his help in dealing with such a person."

"After the deliberation, all the Chiefs, Nemgbana, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, Prince Yamgbe (W.T.G. Lawson) Alikali Thoronka, Sorie Kamara, Bai Ruffa, Maka Bundu, for their respective people and clans unanimously accepted the King's decision - (Nemgbana accepted the Alimamy, and the Alimamy accepted the Alikali, and as such, denouncing all objections to this title and appointment."<sup>1</sup>

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1. C.O.267/496. Enclosure No. 3, to Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone No. 406, dated October 1, 1907. Date of Enclosure No. 3 (the document) quoted - Oct., 23, 1895.

From this document, it appears that Bai Kompa Bomboli had, in some way cancelled the appointment of the Alimamy for Mathenefore and had instead, appointed an Alikali. The creation of the Alikaliship for Mathenefore can now be correctly dated as 1895 (which is the date of this document). Moreover, Sinneh Bundu, the Alimamy of Foredugu, had agreed to this particular appointment on the distinct understanding that the new Alikali was to recognise him as Alimamy and not as a King of Koya. Effect was given to the understanding, by Bai Kompa Bomboli placing the hand of the Alikali into that of Sinneh Bundu and instructing the former to pay all submission to the latter as his father in office. The future passage of all communications from the King and his successors through the Nemgbana to the Alimamy of Foredugu, thence to the Alikali, and finally to the rest of the chiefs, is a Colonial model. Bai Kompa Bomboli himself had once been associated with the Colonial Government and must have copied this model to be transmitted to his people. It should be finally noted that the document illustrates the triumph of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, since the Alikali was not to be in control of the Foredugu section or even a portion of it, but was made to serve under him; and hence he (Sinneh Bundu) readily accepted the appointment of the new Alikali for Mathenefore.

The motive for the creation of the second post among the Mabanta Temne - the Komrabaiship of Fondu - was purely political. Bai Kompa Bomboli needed someone of mature age and knowledgeable enough about the affairs of the country among the Mabanta Temne to advise him and all future Kompas. This official, as his title

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.



indicates, should be 'the father of the Kompas', and all his sub-chiefs - for two words in Temne 'KOM' (give birth to) and 'RABAI' (chieftaincy) form the title of 'KOMRABAI'.<sup>1</sup> Bai Kompa Bomboli laid it down that in all matters of crucial importance concerning chieftaincy, the Komrabai's decision should be regarded as final and binding on all concerned. Bai Kompa Bomboli's injunction as regards the Komrabai Crown and its functions has still been abided by in Koya even up to the present date.<sup>2</sup> The Colony Government however, did not seem to know, or bother about the Komrabai Chieftaincy, probably because, it was not controversial to the extent of posing a threat to the peace and security of the country.

The question as to what was restored by Bai Kompa Bomboli's assumption of power in Koya has thus been answered - that although Koya had since 1861, been under the British influence, Bai Kompa Bomboli had restored its chieftaincy together with all its chiefly hierarchy such as the Nemgbana, the Kaprrr Kompa, the Queens, the Rokes, the Alimamyships of Foredugu and Rothumba, the Ramena and the Poro Societies, and above all, mutual confidence between the Government and the Koya Chiefs.

Bai Kompa Bomboli's reign however, lasted only seven years when inroads began to undermine the continuity of the peaceful situation

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1. Ibid, and my personal knowledge of the Temne language.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimany Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chieftdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimany Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chieftdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chieftdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chieftdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimany Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chieftdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chieftdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Sorie Sesay, Masiaka, Koya Chieftdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chieftdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chieftdom,	19.2.76.

he strove to create in his country. These inroads were not caused by internal but by external forces - the House Tax issue, in which the Koya Chiefs were involved with one of their subjects, called Charles Smart.

Charles Smart was a descendant of Ngombu Smart<sup>1</sup> who had come to Koya at about the last quarter of the eighteenth century as a slave dealer. He was a guest of Pa Nembana Farma who, in agreement with the Bundukas of Foredugu, had allowed him and his followers to settle at Mahera, a few miles up the Rokel River, from Foredugu. From Mahera, he migrated to Masimra as guest of Pa Fera who settled him at Rokon.<sup>2</sup> But some of his descendants remained at Mahera, who had since been fighting to establish their Loko independence in Koya.<sup>3</sup> A more detailed account of Ngombu Smart is given in Chapters I. and VI.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had been a long standing quarrel between the Loko Smart family at Mahera and their Koya overlords. During the first two years of the 1800's, when there was a conflict between the Colony Government and the Koya Temne led by Bai Farma I, Ngombu Smart, who had by this time gone to settle at Rokon in Masimra country, sent his Loko war-men to help the Colony. In this way, the Koya Temne were defeated and in 1802 and finally driven from the Colony. The Loko thought the Koya Temne would suffer a crushing defeat that might paralyse their military power forever, and as such, they (the Lokos) would declare their independence at Mahera, of their overlords.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Sorie Sesay, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

2. Ibid.

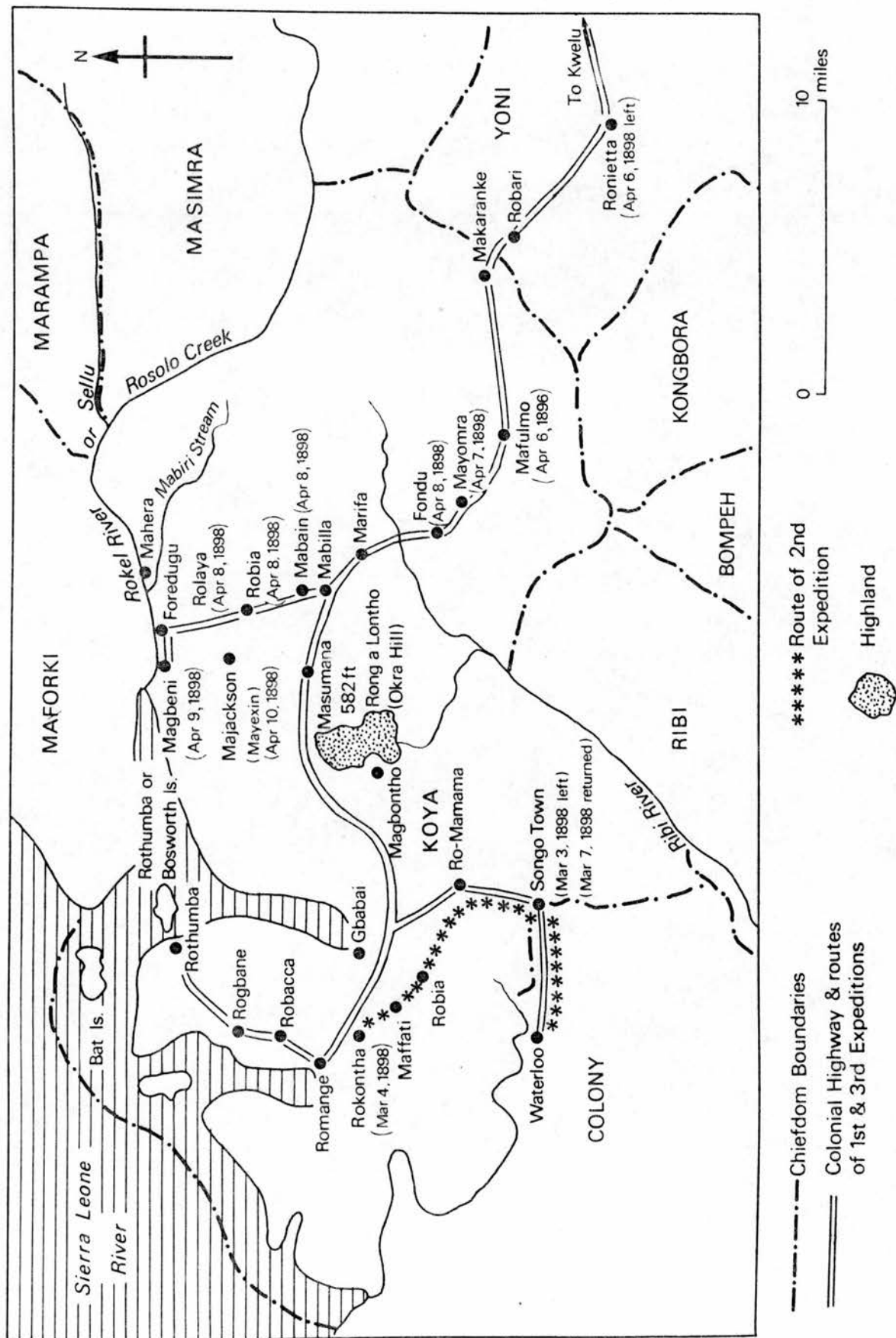
3. Ibid.

In 1893, Charles Smart endeavoured to establish his Loko independence at Mahera and asked Bai Kompa Bomboli and Pa Nemgbana Simor to crown him. When they refused to grant his request, he persuaded the Frontier Police to crown and recognise him officially,<sup>1</sup> much to the displeasure of his overlords. After his coronation, his official title, according to Koya traditions<sup>2</sup> became known as 'King Smart'.

In order to collect the House Tax, the Government had to conduct expeditions to Koya. The first expedition was conducted by Captain H.G. Warren, Assistant Inspector of Police, on the instruction of Dr. Hood who was acting as District Commissioner of Ronietta District when Fairtlough went on leave in February, 1898. The expedition was precipitated by Charles Smart who went to Kwelu and told Dr. Hood<sup>3</sup> that Bai Kompa Bomboli had forbidden all his sub-chiefs to pay the tax and had sent Pa Nemgbana Simor to threaten him with death if he paid. Dr. Hood therefore, despatched Warren with some Frontier Police from Kwelu to arrest Bai Kompa Bomboli. They were accompanied by Charles Smart who was in fact, their guide. They found the old Chief in bed at Romange, his headquarter town. Warren was small in stature but strong and fierce. He rushed into the old Chief's bedroom, and with great difficulty (for the old Chief was huge and heavy), dragged him out, kicking him. Bai Kompa Bomboli refused to be taken to Kwelu and preferred to go to Freetown instead. Warren then allowed him to go to Freetown, as he was not sure whether Romange was in the Colony or in the Protectorate, since the delimitation of Koya boundary from the Colony was left vague in the Protectorate Ordinance. Warren

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 554.
  2. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 355.
  3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 558.

KOYA AND THE HUT TAX WAR - 1898





therefore, feared that if he had insisted on taking the Chief to Kwelu, he might have acted illegally. When Bai Kompa Bomboli went to Freetown and reported that Warren kicked him, he was ordered to return and collect his tax, and then take the complaint to Kwelu.<sup>1</sup> He promised to abide by this instruction but he never went to Kwelu. He only returned to Koya and sent £30 of tax money; but Dr. Hood remained unimpressed. Bai Kompa Bomboli then went into hiding. Meanwhile, Nemgbana Simor was arrested and taken to Kwelu.

Dr. Hood sent his report on this first expedition, to the Governor, and went on leave. The Governor then posted Captain Moore to act as District Commissioner at Kwelu until Fairtlough<sup>2</sup> returned from leave.

Bai Kompa Bomboli still in hiding, Charles Smart seized this opportunity to accuse him the more. It was this accusation that caused the second expedition. This expedition was conducted from Songo Town on March 3, 1898, and was lead by Fairtlough himself, who had just returned from leave. He was accompanied by Captain Moore, Charles Smart, and 40 Fronties. The main aim of this expedition was to arrest Bai Kompa Bomboli and to check any contemplated resistance in Koya.

<sup>3</sup>  
According to the message by carrier pigeon received from Songo Town by Cardew, the expedition proceeded to Maffati via Robia, on March 3, 1898. On the 4th, the rear guard faced some embarassment by 'war-boys' near Rokontta, but were dispersed by the Frontier Police

1. Ibid, p. 568.

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 558.

3. PRO.C.O.267/437. Enclosure No. 6 in Despatch Conf. No. 17, dated March 12, 1898. Cardew to Chamberlain.

who chased them as far as Robia. At night, they were attacked at Robia, but they retaliated killing several natives including the Chief of that town. They burnt down three towns but there were no casualties on the part of the Government forces. The party returned to Songo Town on the 7th of March 1898 without ascertaining the whereabouts of Bai Kompa Bomboli. Having despatched their report to the Governor, Fairtlough and party proceeded to Kwelu where Moore handed over the office to Fairtlough. This was on the 7th of March 1898.

But Charles Smart was still active in his machinations against his Koya overlords. He now accused Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and Pa Sorie Kamara of disloyalty; that they were jointly training an army in preparation for further resistance; and that the army was being specially trained by a professional warrior one Kain Kai, brother of Bai Bureh, and that the official residence of this professional trainer was in the courtyard of Bai Kompa Bomboli. This Kain Kai man, continued Charles Smart, had been promised the Alimamyship of Mathenefore if the resistance succeeded. To escape arrest, Sinneh Bundu and Sorie Kamara fled to the Bulom Shore where they settled temporarily. Caution should however, be exercised in laying credence on such an accusation as the informant was himself in direct opposition to these chiefs whom he had all along been trying to discredit to the Government. Further, this informant, (Charles Smart) as he himself had admitted, had been ambitious to bring Mathenefore under his<sup>1</sup> jurisdiction of Mahera.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,  
 Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,

3.2.76.  
 3.2.76.  
 4.2.76.

On such an accusation by Charles Smart, a third expedition was inevitable. This was conducted from Kwelu, and was led by Fairtlough himself. He was accompanied by Captain Warren, Charles Smart, 50 Frontier Police, Fula Mansa Gbanka of Yoni Mabanta and his war-men. The aim of this third expedition was to suppress the 'rebellion there' once and for all. In his report to the Governor on this third expedition, Fairtlough commenced by stating that,

"In consequence of the disturbed condition of Kwaia country and the attitude of the Chief Bai Kompa and his sub-chiefs Sorie Kamara and Alimamy Senne Bunda who having obtained assistance from the insurgents in the Karene District, had completely blockaded the Rokelle river and proclaimed open war against the Government and all friendly Chiefs, I left Kwelu on the 5th instant with Captain Warren and 50 men and proceeded to Ronietta to confer with Fula Manse of Yonni, a friendly Chief who had been endeavouring to induce Bai Kompa to come to Kwelu to offer an explanation for his conduct."<sup>1</sup>

Although it might be true that the Koya Chiefs blockaded the Rokel river, Fairtlough<sup>2</sup> was however, not correct to say that they proclaimed open war against the Government and all friendly Chiefs, for at that time the Koya people were too disunited among themselves to attempt such a move. This was particularly so when Charles Smart was constantly fabricating and serving information against the Chiefs, to the Government.

This third expedition left Ronietta for Koya on the night of April 6, 1898.<sup>3</sup> At Koya, they first arrived at Mafulumo where they met a big war dance. Here they were attacked by a combined force of Mafulumo and Masarakule war-men. But the rebel forces were driven off with a loss of 13 men killed and their Chief Buya, a son-in-law of Bai Kompa Bomboli, alleged to have been molesting

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... p. 583.
  2. PRO.C.O.267/439. Cardew to Chamberlain, 91, 23.7.98.
  3. PRO.C.O.267/438. Encl. No. 3, Desp. No.35, Cardew to Chamberlain, May 9, 1898.

various loyal natives,<sup>1</sup> arrested. In the conflict however, one of Fula Mansa Gbanka's war-men was killed and another wounded,<sup>2</sup> and both Mafulumo and Masarakule were destroyed. There were no casualties on the Government side.

The party then moved on to Mayomra and on their way, they met a gathering of war-men at Bathpo which they dispersed, killing several of them. Reaching Mayomra, they found the town deserted, but here, it appeared they only went to assemble at some secret place, for they attacked the town "several times during the afternoon and a night attack about 9 p.m. was repulsed, mainly through Fula Mansa's 'war boys', who, working round through the bush, fell upon the rebels in the rear, killing the leader Pa Umr~~u~~ and several followers. Several prisoners were taken but as they were only common men, were<sup>3</sup> afterwards released".

On April 8, 1898, they marched on to Fondu.<sup>4</sup> On their way, they were attacked by warriors in ambush. At Fondu, they found a large collection of war-men and fired volleys on them. Slight fighting occurred there with the result that 23 natives including the Chief, Pa Kuan, were killed. Both that town and the nearby villages including Futa were burnt down. Two of Fula Mansa Gbanka's men were killed and one wounded.

The campaign in and around Foredugu area was much tougher.<sup>5</sup> En route to Foredugu, the expedition met a large gathering of men at

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1. PRO.C0267/438. Encl.No.3, Desp. No.35, Cardew to Chamberlain, May 9 1898.
  2. Ibid.
  3. PRO.C.O.267/438. Enclosure No. 3 (Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary) in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 35 of 9th May, 1898. Cardew to Chamberlain.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.



Marifa and a strong mud fort and watch tower which had just been constructed, and from the loopholes of which they were fired on. The party replied by firing volleys which dispersed the warriors into the bush where they were pursued by Fula Mansa Gbanka's war-men. Arriving at Mabaing and Robia, they dispersed another crowd which was waiting in ambush to attack them. Finally, they reached Foredugu. Here they met a large gathering of war-men from the surrounding towns including Rolaya, Magbeni, and Majackson (Mayexin). The fighting here was slightly fierce but the natives were overpowered in less than an hour, and 30 of their men were killed, including Pa Yamba, the head warrior. Alimamy Sinneh Bundu had escaped to the Bulom Shore, and Pa Sorie Kamara and 15 of his followers put off in a canoe in the Rokel River for the same Bulom Shore, but a volley fired on them killed 6 of the men, sunk the canoe, and the remaining 9 men together with Pa Sorie Kamara only escaped by swimming.

On the 10th of April, 1898, Fairtlough divided his party into <sup>1</sup> three divisions. He sent one sergeant and ten men with some friendlies round to Majackson, which lay about 5 miles west of Foredugu, and 3 miles south of the Rokel river. While the second division of 20 men under Captain Warren remained at Foredugu, he himself proceeded down the river to Masemgbi with 16 men. The first division encountered considerable opposition on the way, meeting a large party of war-men in ambush near Majackson, but this was dispersed with loss of men, and both Majackson and Ropolon were destroyed.

The rebels at Majackson then joined those at Masemgbi, having been pursued by the first party. Thus, caught between the two fires, they were thoroughly broken up and thrown in complete disarray.

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1. PRO.C.O.267/438. Encl. No. 3 (Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary) in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 35, of May 9, 1898. Cardew to Chamberlain.

Disorganized, large numbers of them boarded several boats to cross to the Bulom Shore; but these were sunk by well-directed volleys. Fairtlough's men and the Court Messengers whom he had armed intercepted those who attempted to escape by swimming. Many were drowned and those who managed to land on the shore of the Rokel river were shot by the Court Messengers. Although the rebels now seemed totally dispersed, a small party of Sorie Kamara's men attacked with shots, Fairtlough's boat which was carrying the mails to Freetown. The combined divisions then attacked and completely dispersed them, and destroyed Robump, a town belonging to Pa Sorie Kamara on the Karene side of the Rokel river. This was the last campaign in Koya. To seal it more firmly, Fairtlough appointed Fula Mansa Gbanka acting Paramount Chief of Koya. As a reason for this appointment and for the general pacification of Koya Chiefdom, Fairtlough stated that

"In order to have some responsible native to refer the natives to, I appointed Fula Mansa acting Paramount Chief of Kwaia and through his energy collected over £200 Hut Tax. The people who brought in the money stated that they had all gathered the money to pay the tax after Captain Moore's recent expedition to Kwaia but that Bai Kompa had refused to allow them to pay it.

"Sub-Inspector Johnson is proceeding to Kwaia now to endeavour to effect the arrest of the Chief mentioned, to collect the remainder of the tax and establish a station at Mahera for the protection of the river.

"I would strongly urge upon His Excellency the importance of confirming Fula Mansa in the position of acting Paramount Chief of Kwaia, as with the single exception of Chief Smart of Mahera who is not possessed of sufficient strength of character for the position, none of the Kwaia Chiefs have remained loyal and it would be almost impossible to rule the Kwaia district otherwise than through him. His reputation as a warrior will be sufficient to establish his position and coerce the disaffected natives into submission."<sup>1</sup>

The appointment of Fula Mansa Gbanka as Acting Paramount Chief of Koya was thus more than a mere device to collect the tax, but a temporary administrative measure to force the natives into submission, which was

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1. PRO.C.O.267/438. Enclosure No. 3 (Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary), in Despatch No. 35 of May 9, 1898. Cardew to Chamberlain.

in effect, the main attitude of the British Colonial Authorities at the close of the nineteenth century - that the natives in their territories must not be persuaded but must be coerced into accepting British rule. The appointment of Fula Mansa Gbanka must have been a disappointment to Charles Smart, who must have been expecting to be so appointed.

When Bai Kompa Bomboli came from hiding, and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and Pa Sorie Kamara returned from the Bulom Shore, they found that Fula Mansa Gbanka was already in full control of their country. But Bai Kompa Bomboli was saved from the humiliation of seeing his country being ruled by another Paramount Chief from an entirely different chiefdom, by his sudden death.<sup>1</sup> This was because, he realized that he was not able to stop the collection of the tax as most of his big men had already been arrested and taken to Kwelu, where they sent a message to their relatives and supporters to pay their tax.<sup>2</sup> According to Koya traditions,<sup>3</sup> Bai Kompa Bomboli was said to have committed suicide, preferring to die in this manner than to pay the tax. He died on the way between his town of Romange and Gbabai.<sup>4</sup> The spot where he died, Koya traditions continue, remains a monument for the Koya people, for every passing traveller has to drop a leaf on that spot; for which reason that place is called in Temne, 'RO-MAFAK A BUMA' (the place where leaves are dropped). This is to show

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 362.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

the honour and esteem the Koya people hold for their Chief, Bai Kompa Bomboli.<sup>1</sup>

Pa Nemgbana Simor and the other Chiefs who were in prison at Kwelu hearing that their Chief had died during the struggle requested to be released so that they too could go and pay their tax.<sup>2</sup> Their request was granted.<sup>3</sup> When they returned home they found out that two of the big men that were not arrested, namely Pa Dick Wola II, son of Yan Bome Ruffa, and Pa Asumana Sorie Dumbuya, a Company Chief, had already collected much of the remaining tax which Fula Mansa was not able to collect from the remote villages. They however, strove to fulfil their promise and paid their own tax. This ostensible loyalty of Pa Dick Wola II and Pa Asumana Sorie Dumbuya was to have a profound effect on the politics of Koya country during the first two decades of the twentieth century. As for Pa Nemgbana Simor, he no longer had any authority over his subjects who now cared less for him, and as such, he could not rule the country as had been the custom that on the death of the Kompa, the Nemgbana should rule the whole country until he too died.<sup>4</sup>

But Charles Smart's manoeuvres were still in progress. He again accused Nemgbana Simor of threatening to kill him for paying the tax. Pa Nemgbana Simor was rearrested, dragged on to Kwelu where he was tried under the charge of intimidating Charles Smart, found guilty and sentenced to deposition from office, twelve months imprisonment

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 358.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.



(with hard labour), and 36 lashes.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that in that trial, Charles Smart was both plaintiff and witness, and Captain Moore presided as Judge. The defendant, Pa Nemgbana Simor on the other hand, had neither defence counsel, nor any witness. It was thus impossible for such a trial to be fair. The Governor however, disallowed the flogging sentence and Nemgbana Simor was only gaoled at Kwelu.<sup>2</sup> The involvement of these leading personalities in Koya reveal their true character as to their alignments and disagreements within their own country, and relationship with the Government. Their drama during the Hut Tax war cast a shadow on the future history of Koya country after 1898.

When Pa Nemgbana Simor was finally released in 1899, he had completely become incapable of controlling the Koya country. Two reasons were mainly responsible for this. The first was that the imprisonment had considerably reduced his prestige.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, three ambitious men, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, Dick Wola II, and Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya, were undermining his authority, while he was in gaol, to promote their influence in the country and entrench it to the Government.<sup>4</sup> They used as their weapon, his decline in prestige. To achieve their goal, they became the chief tax collectors in the whole of the Koya country.<sup>5</sup> This loyalty meant the ruin of their Nemgbana and the enhancement of their friendship with Fairtlough at Kwelu and the

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol. LX. Chalmers Report, p. 595, Appendix II.  
Document XXXIV. Extracts from Record Book, D.C.Court, Ronietta.  
Case No. 8 of 21.1.98: Reg. VS. Pa Nemgbana.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Bai Mange Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	9 13.1.76.
Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie M'Baimba, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Government in Freetown. It also afforded them the opportunity of establishing friendship ties with Madam Yoko, ruler of the Kpa Mende confederacy at Mayamba, who had all along been a very good friend of the Administration.<sup>1</sup> It is also alleged that Sinneh Bundu gave his younger sister to Fairtlough in marriage.<sup>2</sup> The first result of these manoeuvres was the suppression of Charles Smart by Fairtlough himself. Secondly, Sinneh Bundu and Dick Wola II had succeeded in gaining the friendship of the Government and thus laid a strong foundation for the future enhancement of their political ambition. The Hut Tax events seriously undermined the old order of things as restored by Bai Kompa Bomboli, the results of which were to be realised during the administration of his successors in Koya.

<sup>3</sup>  
Koya traditions clearly have it that for three years after the Hut Tax war, the country had no Paramount Chief - that was the third interregnum; that the Old Paramount Chief Bai Kompa Bomboli had died during the Hut Tax rebellion; that the Government appointed Acting Paramount Chief Fula Mansa Gbanka of Yoni had been killed at the battle of Gbonjema in the same year (1898); that Pa Nemgbana Simor, although had been released from prison by this time, had declined in prestige and authority and fallen from the favour of the Government; that William Lawson was not trusted by the Government and as such, could not be made Paramount Chief; that during this short interregnum of three years (1898-1901), the government of Koya country passed into the hands of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu. Governor Probyn's records later confirm this Koya tradition on this point that,

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 365.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

"During the rebellion of 1898, all the people in Koya country were implicated. The Old Paramount Chief Bai Kompa died. Owing to their treasonable conduct both the Nemgbana or Deputy Paramount Chief, and Chief Yamgbe (W.T.G. Lawson), could not be approved of by the Governor as the new Paramount Chief. On the absence of the Paramount Chief, the whole country was placed under the control of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu as the senior Koya Alimamy."<sup>1</sup>

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At the end of the third year, Koya traditions continue, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu was persuaded by the Koya elders to hand over the government of the country to the rightful heirs by causing the election of a new Paramount Chief that, "in 1901, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu represented to the Government the necessity of appointing a Paramount Chief, and on being told that the then former Nemgbana and Chief Yamgbe will not be approved of by the Governor, the Koya had only one of the alternatives left, viz:- to nominate Dick Wola (who had represented Bai Kompa in the dispute before Governor Cardew) as the new Paramount Chief."<sup>3</sup>

But this was by no means easy as there were other claimants to the crown. A second claimant suddenly appeared. This was Pa Sorie Kamara of Magbeni, who had patrilineal claims.<sup>4</sup> Sorie Kamara was the eldest surviving son of Nemgbana Farma and according to the Koya constitution as established by Pa Konko London, he was eligible for the crown. Dick Wolla II's claims were matrilineal. His father hailed from Safroko country but married to Yan Bome Ruffa, daughter of late Bai Bureh, and by the same constitution he could be considered for the crown. But the contest was so fierce that their success or failure would not depend on their patrilineal or matrilineal claims

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1. C.O.267/497. Encl. in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 403, Oct. 1, 1907.
  2. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 365.
  3. C.O.267/497. Encl. in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 403, Oct. 1, 1907. Probyn to Lord Long.
  4. Oral Traditions - see Note 3, p. 365.

alone but on other factors as well. These factors included their support both within the country as well as outside it.

<sup>1</sup>  
 Sorie Kamara was supported by Yan Bome Gbashaia, King Charles Smart and his Loko people, and Pa Nemgbana Simor whose position he promised to strengthen in the country, if elected. Dick Wola II was supported <sup>2</sup> by his mother, Yan Bome Ruffa, Pa Alimamy Sorie Dumbuya and his Susu people at Gbabai whom he promised a position in his government of the country. He also enlisted the active support of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and his Bunduka people of Foredugu and their <sup>3</sup> satellite section of Rothumba. He promised to safeguard the special rights of the Bunduka family of Foredugu by allowing Alimamy Sinneh Bundu to rule Upper Koya instead of the Nemgbana, as was originally the custom. But Alimamy Sinneh Bundu still mistrusted Dick Wola II, and in order that the special rights of the Bunduka family of Foredugu might be safeguarded in Upper Koya, it was agreed that Dick Wola II should give a written pledge. Alimamy Sinneh Bundu on his part gave an understanding that he and his successors would recognise Dick Wola II, on being crowned, as the Paramount Chief of Koya, and that they would give the same recognition to the Paramount Chief's successors. <sup>4</sup>  
 Dick Wola II's written undertaking reads:-

"This indenture made this 8th day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand, nine hundred and one, between Bai Farma of Koya [Dick Wola II] who will be the future King of the said country and Chief Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu, that I, Bai Farma of Koya, do hereby promise

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 358.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. C.O.267/497. Enclosure No. 4 to enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone No. 406, dated October 1, 1907 - Agreement between Dick Wola II and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, dated April 8, 1901.



to Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, his heirs and successors, and I sign that they are entitled to the privileges and rights of the said country."

"II. And that I, Bai Farma, will not go against Sinneh Bundu, nor against any of his people who may have right to enjoy all the privileges of the said country."

"III. That I am to be faithful and honest in all my doings to the said Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and his people."

"Witness my hand this eighth day of April, 1901.

His  
(signed) Bai Farma (Alias) Dick Wola  
Mark  
Alimamy Sinneh Bundu (signed in Arabic)

The agreement which was witnessed by N. Combee Barnard, and J.B. Lawson<sup>1</sup> Barker (Inspector of Police) who was also the writer, authorised by Dick Wola II, was produced in triplicate - one for Dick Wola II, one for Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, while Inspector Barker kept the third copy for future reference. After this agreement had been completed, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu declared for Dick Wola II.

During the campaign Dick Wola II and his men reminded the<sup>2</sup> Administration of their loyalty especially during the Hut Tax issue, and also argued that Sorie Kamara and one of his allies Pa Nemgbana Simor, were the chief opponents of the House Tax in Koya, and that King Charles Smart only joined them because of his dislike for the Bunduka family of Foreduku, and because the success of Sorie Kamara would strengthen his position as ruler of Mahera. They finally pointed out the possibility of a fresh anti-tax rebellion in Koya if Sorie Kamara were crowned. With these revelations, Fairtlough and the Administration were bound to strengthen their support of Dick Wola II and oppose the candidature of Sorie Kamara more vehemently. Dick

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1. See Note 4, p. 368.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.

Wola II was thus crowned Paramount Chief of Koya, assuming the title of Bai Farma III. His coronation and installation took place at Foredugu and not in the traditional town of Robacca, in order to honour Alimamy Sinneh Bundu who gave him the crown. He refused to assume the title of Bai Kompa, according to Koya traditions,<sup>1</sup> because he feared the 'KOTH0' which he had placed on the crown by becoming Paramount Chief while the Nemgbana was still alive.<sup>2</sup> In this regard, James has also noted that there was a custom in Koya Chieftdom that a Paramount Chief could not be crowned while the Nemgbana of his predecessor was still alive "but Bai Farma was crowned in the lifetime of his predecessor's Nemgbana".<sup>3</sup> This was Nemgbana Simor.

In order to strengthen his position<sup>4</sup> the new Paramount Chief, Bai Farma III, as his first step, allowed the Kappr Kompa of the late Bai Kompa Bomboli to continue in office. He however, refused to choose his Nemgbana from among the Kamaras of Magbeni. Instead, he crowned Pa Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya of Gbabai who was his former colleague in the House Tax collection. The Administration was pleased with this arrangement for three of their main supporters during the Hut Tax struggle in Koya - Dick Wola II (now Bai Farma III) Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, and Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya (now Pa Nemgbana Dumbuya) were now in full control of Koya Chieftdom; and their opponents, the Kamaras, were excluded from holding key positions in the country. To honour him further, Bai Farma III was in 1902, invited to witness the coronation of King Edward VII the eldest son and successor of

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 369.

2. Ibid.

3. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law" ...p.116.

4. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 369.

Queen Victoria who had died in 1901.<sup>1</sup> This visit to England greatly enhanced his prestige both among his Koya people and in the chiefdoms of his neighbours.

The entry of Pa Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya into the Koya Ruling caste can be briefly explained here. All Koya traditional accounts<sup>2</sup> are agreed on the following story of this man. His father, Pa Sumana Kargbo Dumbuya was a Mandinka from Bambuka in Susu country. Pa Sumana Kargbo Dumbuya first settled in Maforki country in about the late eighteenth century. During the Susu/Temne war in Port Loko he and his followers joined the war on the side of the Temne against the Susu leader, Brima Konkori. After the defeat of Konkori, he was rewarded with the chiefship of the section which later bore his name 'Makargbo Section', in Maforki country, and now occupied by his descendants.<sup>3</sup> This must be a reference to the Port Loko war of 1815,<sup>4</sup> and so Pa Sumana Kargbo must have been well established in Maforki by the second decade of the nineteenth century.

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1. C.O.267/463. Despatch No. 136; King-Harman to J. Chamberlain, May 7. 102. AND Telegram, dated May 30, 1902; King-Harman to Chamberlain.
  2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Bai Mangay Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie M'Bamba, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,	15.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Yan Mama Bangura, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom,	4.2.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
  3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75.
Pa Aliu Badara Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75.
Pa Alpha Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75.
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.
  4. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone ... pp. 124-5.

Five years after this war, Pa Sumana Karrgbo, traditions  
<sup>1</sup> continued, migrated to Koya country where he befriended a leading  
 Koya citizen, Pa Nfa Bana of Gbabai. By profession, both were  
 sawyers and were engaged in sawing timber during the booming timber  
 trade. They first settled at Mathaka, and later at Rogboroh, both  
 towns at Lower Koya, as guests of the grandfather of Pa Kapprr Kompa  
 of Bai Farma I, who sent them to settle at Gbabai, the home of Pa  
 Nfa Bana. If both men came to settle in Koya five years after the  
 overthrow of Brima Konkori in 1815, their settling in that country  
 can be conveniently dated at 1820, and indeed that was the period  
 when the timber trade was booming in the Port Loko/Rokel River region.  
 Pa Sumana Karrgbo then married Yan Musu Bundu, daughter of Pa Kombo  
 Bundu of Foredugu and Pa Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya was the product of  
 that marriage.  
<sup>2</sup> Pa Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya was therefore, a Bunduka,  
 maternally. He grew up to be an intelligent boy and when he became  
 a full grown man, he became so influential, that he was elected a  
 company chief, assuming the title of Alimamy Sorie Dumbuya,  
<sup>3</sup> by which name he was later to be known.

While he was a Gbabai, there arose a bush dispute between  
 his family and Pa Kegbana Wonko of Maworrko.  
<sup>4</sup> The chiefs ruled that whoever that claimed the ownership of the disputed land, should swear  
 to a certain 'bad medicine' and 'eat bread'. All the members of  
 his family assembled and took an oath to swear; but when the time came  
 for the swearing, only Pa Alimamy Sorie Dumbuya turned up and swore

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 371.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.



before the assembled chiefs. The disputed land was thus given to him where he and his family now permanently settled. The ownership of this land gave him the strength and courage to begin to assert his citizenship in Lower Koya.<sup>1</sup>

Pa Alimamy Sorie Dumbuya then began to strengthen his position by befriending Yan Bome Warra, one of the Queens of Koya, and sister of Bai Farma III.<sup>2</sup> It was this woman that helped to convince Bai Farma III to crown him as his Nemgbana. His coronation as Pa Nemgbana was another 'KOTH0' on the Koya crown for, for the first time in the history of Koya country, the Nemgbanaship had been taken away from the Kamaras of Magbeni to the Dumbuyas or Fallahs of Gbabai,<sup>3</sup> and further, the old Nemgbana, Simor, was still alive when Nemgbana Dumbuya was crowned. Thus the sawyer's son, Pa Ansumana Sorie Dumbuya, had worked up his way to the Koya ruling aristocracy.

But this arrangement was far from bringing peace in Koya. Soon fresh trouble was sparked off, for while the Kamaras of Magbeni were aggrieved for their being excluded from the Government of the country especially the removal of the Nemgbanaship from them, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu was quite unhappy over the crowning of the Nemgbana, for he felt this move would automatically deprive him of his chance to rule Upper Koya. To him, this move was a breach of Bai Farma's agreement with him. But he remained quiet, waiting for an opportunity to act without notice.

It should be clearly noted that Bai Farma III had created triple 'KOTH0'<sup>4</sup> - that is, first, he had become Paramount Chief while

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 371.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.



the Old Nemgbana (Simor) was still alive; secondly, the Old Nemgbana was still alive while the new Nemgbana was crowned whereby having two Nemgbanas in the same Chieftdom at the same time; and thirdly, he had removed the Nemgbanship from the Kamaras of Magbeni and given it to the Dumbuyas of Gbabai. But the two Nemgbanas could not continue to live in the same country at the same time. One must give way, mysteriously, or otherwise.<sup>1</sup> At a very important meeting of the Chieftdom convened by Bai Farma III, both Nemgbanas attended. When, after the meeting, they returned to their respective homes, Nemgbana Simor suddenly died. This incident alarmed the whole Koya country,<sup>2</sup> and it was attributed to either one, or two, or three of the causes - the 'KOTHO', or heart attack, or suicide. But whatever might be the cause, such a death and the manoeuvres succeeded only in generating more bitterness among the Koya people.

The climax of the bitterness was occasioned by a sharp dispute between Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and Bai Farma III<sup>3</sup> - that is, four years after the coronation of the latter. This must be in 1906 since Bai Farma III was crowned in 1902. The cause of the quarrel was that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu having been disappointed, kept on collecting the House Tax and crowning Alimamys in Upper Koya without the authority of his Paramount Chief, Bai Farma III, who sharply reacted by sending his own men to collect the tax in the same area, and a clash between the two parties was the inevitable consequence. Further, Bai Farma III sent a delegation to ask Alimamy Sinneh Bundu why he should keep on collecting tax and crowning Alimamys without his consent. Alimamy Sinneh Bundu disgracefully drove out the

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 371.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

delegation from Foredugu. These exchanges caused violent clashes in the Chiefdom, the news of which alarmed the Government.

The reaction of the Government to these disturbances was to fix a date to settle the dispute. The two Chiefs were informed and requested to prepare a venue for the meeting. Bai Farma III prepared Mathiri in Lower Koya, while Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, Fondu in Upper Koya. But Fairtlough preferred attending the meeting at Fondu, rather than Mathiri, and this greatly annoyed Bai Farma who thus refused to attend the meeting. When Fairtlough went to Fondu and did not meet him, he despatched his Police to invite him. When finally he went to the meeting at Fondu, Fairtlough sternly scolded him as to why he failed to turn up at the meeting. Bai Farma III in turn sharply remonstrated, saying that Fairtlough should not threaten him; that he had been to England and seen Fairtlough's parents who were but poor villagers struggling to earn their living. Fairtlough was greatly offended by such a reply, but kept quiet and conducted the investigation.

During the proceedings, Bai Farma III argued that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu being only an Alimamy, had no right to collect House Tax and to crown other Alimamys without reference to him as the Paramount Chief of the country; and that the meeting should have, in fact, been held at the place appointed by himself as Paramount Chief, and not in the one prepared by his sub-chief.

Alimamy Sinneh Bundu argued that Fairtlough was the District Commissioner of the whole of the Ronietta District and that he had undisputed right to hold meetings wherever he chose; that if he had chosen Mathiri, the assembly would have had no alternative but to follow him there, and that both Bai Farma III and himself as servants of the Government should not belabour the point any longer. Turning to the question of the collection of the House Tax and the crowning of

the Alimamys in Upper Koya, Sinneh Bundu pointed out that Bai Farma III had given him that section of the country to rule as a reward for supporting him during the election, and that this was put in a written agreement; that he only collected House Tax and crowned Alimamys in his own section of Upper Koya and not in Lower Koya which belonged to Bai Farma III. Bai Farma III flatly denied the facts of this argument whereupon Alimamy Sinneh Bundu produced the copy of the written agreement and tendered it in evidence. The truth of Sinneh Bundu's argument was confirmed by Mr. Barker the Inspector, who acted as clerk and prepared the document on the instruction of Bai Farma III himself. On the basis of this evidence, Fairtlough declared Sinneh Bundu the victor, and Bai Farma III, the aggressor. It must not be forgotten however, that Fairtlough and Sinneh Bundu were very good friends and 'in-laws' for that matter, and such a relationship might have seriously influenced his decision. After the meeting, the two contenders returned to their respective homes, Bai Farma III, with grievance, while Sinneh Bundu with much jubilation. But the end of the matter had still to come, for the report of the meeting at Fondu had not yet been sent to the Governor, Sir Leslie Probyn.

When the Governor received the report, he was very angry over the portion concerning the attitude of Bai Farma III to his District Commissioner. He was very disappointed that Bai Farma III who had been sent to England at Government expense should become conceited to the extent of being insolent to his field officer, D.C. Fairtlough. In consequence, he immediately ordered his arrest, deposition from his position of Paramount Chief of Koya country, and deportation to Freetown. He was however, later allowed to reside and rule the small section where his chief town of Romange was situated.

But he never went there. He rather preferred staying in Freetown and fighting for his restoration, for he felt it was degrading for him to be so reduced to the position of a Section Chief. When he died in Freetown, his body was carried back to Koya and given a ceremonial burial at Robacca. His death caused Koya Chiefdom to be without a Paramount Chief for ten years (1907-1917) and this was the fourth interregnum.

The tradition as to the deposition of Bai Farma III can be verified by reference to written sources. Bai Farma III was interdicted from his office by Governor Probyn on February 1, 1907,<sup>1</sup> but was permitted to continue to act as Paramount Chief, by Acting Governor Lieutenant-Colonel F.J. Henstock provided he would behave properly for a period of six months. There were two reasons given for this interdiction.<sup>2</sup> First, the District Commissioner Fairtlough, reported that the Bai had been collecting money from his subjects for his own use under the pretence that all the House Tax had not been paid. This is what the Koya traditional accounts<sup>3</sup> say that he collected the House Tax in Upper Koya, an act resented by Alimamy Sinneh Bundu which caused the affray. Secondly, that Bai Farma III interfered with the special rights enjoyed by the Alimamy of Foredugu or Upper Koya, and his Bunduka family.<sup>4</sup> The special rights referred to are, that an arrangement had been previously made whereby Upper Koya should remain as part of the Koya country but that it should be under the control of the Bunduka family. The then head of the Bunduka family was crowned

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1. C.O.267/496. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Encl. in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Oral Traditions, see Note 2, p. 371.
  4. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure No. 1 to Enclosure in Despatch Sierra Leone, No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.



an Alimamy (Alimamy Bockarie Sailley) of the Koya country. As Bai Kompa Bomboli had earlier stated, "We have allowed Alimamys in the Bunduka clan for good services rendered to the country." <sup>1</sup> This was a very important issue because it necessarily implied that each head of the Bunduka family appointed to the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya would be responsible for the control of that section of the country and would therefore, have the absolute right to appoint Alimamys, Santigies, and Headmen, in towns situated within that district. This special jurisdiction thus created, necessarily imposed certain restrictions on any future Paramount Chief of Koya. That is, no Paramount Chief should appoint or crown any Alimamy, or Alikali, Santigie, or Headman, in Upper Koya since such a move would undermine the authority of the Alimamy of Foredugu. As Probyn has pointed out, this special jurisdiction of the head of the Bunduka family, the Alimamyship of Foredugu, had been recognised by earlier Administrators such as Sir William Quayle-Jones, Sir James Hay, and Sir Frederic Cardew. <sup>2</sup> It was these rights and jurisdiction that Bai Farma III <sup>3</sup> himself guaranteed in the written agreement, when he was enlisting the support of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu during the contest for the chieftaincy. These two reasons alone stood a great discredit for Bai Farma III in the matter.

There were also other ancillary reasons which precipitated Bai Farma III's deposition. One was that the Governor received letters in which a complaint was made that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of

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1. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure No. 1 to Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone No. 406, dated October 1, 1907. Bai Kompa to J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs Department (Romangay) September 29, 1894.
  2. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Long. Despatch No. 508, dated November 25, 1907.
  3. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure No. 4 to Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone No. 406, dated October 1, 1907, AND  
Oral Traditions  
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Nasiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76. AND  
PRO.C.O.267/497. Enclosure No. 4 in Despatch No. 406, dated, 1.10.1907

Foredugu or Upper Koya was oppressing the people and also defying the authority of the Paramount Chief Bai Farma III. One of these letters purported to have been written by one Santigie Socco of Matham stated that war would break out in the Koya country unless Alimamy Sinneh Bundu was punished.<sup>1</sup> Another letter purported to have been signed by all the sub-chiefs of Koya, was to the same effect.<sup>2</sup> These letters moved Governor Probyn to visit Koya to investigate the charges against Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, the investigation which the Koya traditions variously recall.<sup>3</sup> In his despatch to the Colonial Office Probyn stated,

"I have visited the country and have seen Bai Farma and several sub-chiefs as well as his speaker, Brima, at Songo and subsequently at Mathiri. I also visited Fondu and there saw Alimamy Sinneh Bundu. No person answering to the name of Santigie Socco of Matham to be found. And all the sub-chiefs who accompanied Bai Farma the Paramount Chief disclaimed having signed the letter to which their names were affixed as signatories."

"8. The statements of Sinneh Bundu and Nemgbana were to the effect that Bai Farma had endeavoured to undermine the authority of the Alimamy of Foreduku. My decision however, is based on the statement made by Bai Farma himself, and on the statements made by the speaker Brima, who was brought forward by the Bai as a supporter."

"9. In 1906, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu selected and proposed a person to be headman, Santigie, or Alikali of Mathenefore, and in accordance with recognised procedure, informed the Nemgbana of his decision. The Alimamy also took advantage of the presence of Bai Farma at Fondu to inform the latter of the intended appointment. Under the arrangement or constitution respecting the Alimamyship of Foreduku, Bai Farma, as Paramount Chief, was fully recognised by the notification, and had no right to interfere with the appointment. The people of Makeru, a town in Upper Koya objected to the appointment on the ground that the person selected was not a native of the town, and that the former holder of the office was a native of their town. The

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1. PRO.C.O.267/497. Enclosure in Despatch No. 406. Probyn to Rt. Hon. Lord Long, dated October 1, 1907.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Various Koya Traditions.

Makeru people brought their complaint to Bai Farma. A letter purports to have informed the Makeru people that the appointment was not in the hands of the Alimamy was forwarded; and that this was the duty of Bai Farma under the constitution, and that it was especially incumbent on him to discharge his duties, as a condition of these appointments, he as Paramount Chief, had given a pledge to the Bunduka people that he would safeguard their special rights. Bai Farma however, overlooked all his obligations on the matter and took the petition to the District Commissioner at Moyamba where he complained that Sinneh Bundu was illegally appointing or trying to appoint sub-chiefs, although such appointment was the prerogative of the Paramount Chief. Bai Farma concealed from the Acting District Commissioner the fact that the Alimamy of Foredugu or Upper Koya had historical and well recognised rights to appoint Headmen to all the towns in the Alimamyship of Foredugu. The Acting District Commissioner thought that the ordinary rule applied, viz:- that such appointment could be made by the Paramount Chief, and he subsequently decided (in the absence of Sinneh Bundu) that Bai Farma was right in objecting to the Alimamy's appointment at Mathenefore and Bai Farma was entitled to select fit and proper persons to the Alimamyship not only at Mathenefore, but at three other towns situated within the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya. Bai Farma took advantage of this decision and appointed three persons in the Alimamyship of Foredugu. Bai Farma in thus acting defied the orders of the previous Governors, broke the agreement arrived at the assembly at Petifu, and violated the expressed pledge which he had given to Alimamy Sinneh Bundu without which he would not have been selected by the people for the office of Paramount Chief. By this act, instead of endeavouring to rule his Chiefdom in peace, he succeeded in stirring up strife which in olden days would have led to war and which (as admitted by all the sub-chiefs of Lower Koya) has seriously disorganised the whole of the Koya country. For this act alone, Bai Farma is liable to deposition. During the enquiry which I held at Mathiri, Bai Farma endeavoured to make out that the Alimamy of Foredugu had no special jurisdiction. He was warned that if it was established that the Alimamy had such special jurisdiction he, (Bai Farma), would be deposed if I found that he had concealed the fact that such special jurisdiction existed. He deliberately concealed the fact to me on the 28th of September, and again on the 29th. I decided therefore, that it was unsafe to permit him to continue to be Paramount Chief of the Koya country."<sup>1</sup>

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1. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Long. Enclosure in Despatch No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.

From the foregoing, it can be noted that the oral traditions are inaccurate about the place of the meeting - that it took place only at Fondu and not at Mathiri. According to the despatch, three meetings were held, first at Songo, second at Mathiri, and third at Fondu. It only seems that the meeting at Fondu was the one most properly organized, as Probyn himself admits that Fondu was garrisoned<sup>1</sup> by the soldiers of the Second West African Regiment, which suggests that he had envisaged some row to accompany any decision he might make. According to him, "The presence of the troops was necessary<sup>2</sup> to prevent disorder before, or subsequent to my decision."

Further, although there is no evidence to prove that there was a quarrel between Bai Farma III and D.C. Fairtlough as stated by the oral traditions, there was however, a serious dispute between Dr. Hood, Acting District Commissioner, and Bai Farma III, when the latter was invited to London to witness the coronation of His Majesty, King Edward VII, in 1902. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, Bai Farma III reported<sup>3</sup> that Dr. Hood insulted and assaulted both him and his sub-chief who accompanied him, while they were in London, and that he (Dr. Hood) had recommended to Sir Charles King-Harman the Governor, their immediate return. Dr. Hood in turn, wrote<sup>4</sup> to the Acting Governor, Haddon-Smith that "the Chiefs were returning home on account of their general behaviour. They are under the impression that the treatment they have received whilst in England had not been

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1. C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Long. Despatch No. 434; October 14, 1907.
  2. Ibid.
  3. C.O.267/463. Henstock to Chamberlain. Enclosure No. 1 in despatch Sierra Leone, No. 210, August 4, 1902. Complaint of Bai Farma against Dr. Hood.
  4. C.O.267/463. Hood to Haddon-Smith. Enclosure No. 2 in Despatch No. 210, dated August 4, 1902.



so good as it ought to have been." <sup>1</sup> Probably, it is this aside between Dr. Hood and Bai Farma III that the Koya traditional accounts misunderstand to be between Bai Farma and Fairtlough. On the other hand, it is possible that in fact, a quarrel of the sort did take place, but that neither Fairtlough, nor the Governor reported the insulting language of Bai Farma III, that "he had been to England and seen Fairtlough's parents who were but poor people struggling for their daily bread", and the traditions give it as a reason for his deposition. The Administrators might have thought it impolitic to report the language of Bai Farma III, and so, preferred to advance other reasons for his deposition, which they so effectively gave. But whatever might be the reasons, one fact is clear from both the traditional and the written accounts that Bai Farma III was arrogant and insubordinate, and had thus been out of the favour of the Government who had endeavoured to dislodge him from his position; for at this early stage of the new Protectorate, the Government could not justifiably tolerate any insubordination from any native ruler whatsoever.

Both traditional accounts and written sources are agreed that Bai Farma III was reduced to a mere section chief - to rule only the small section of Romangay. The reasons given by the Government were that -

"There is at present no person of sufficient age to be selected as Paramount by the people. The future Chief would probably be one of Bai Famara's sons now being educated at Bo School. In the interest of the general welfare of the Koya country, I decided that Bai Farma, as father of the future Paramount Chief should, as far as possible, be treated with respect. I authorised Bai Farma therefore, to continue to live at Romangay, the Headquarters of the Chiefs and to rule over the section of the country adjacent to the town subject to his being of good behaviour."<sup>2</sup>

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1. PRO.C.O.267/463. Henstock to Chamberlain. Enclosure No. 2 in Despatch Sierra Leone, No. 210, August 4, 1902.
  2. PRO.C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.

The Government did not of course, call it a reduction in status; but it was in fact, a reduction, and the Koya people rightly regarded it as such, although citizens could pay him some respect if they desired to do so.<sup>1</sup> To Bai Farma III, this reduction in political power was a terrible humiliation.

Two more troubles were to pass over Bai Farma III before his fate could be finally sealed for the very worst. These were, the expulsion of his son from the Bo School, and the withdrawal of the privileges granted him to continue to live at Romangay.

In 1905, three boys were sent from the Koya country to school at Bo, and one of them was Bai Farma III's son. This boy was expelled from the school "because of misconduct".<sup>2</sup> The crime the boy committed was not mentioned. The District Commissioner, Fairtlough, only reported that<sup>3</sup> it would be very unlikely that the boy would ever be chosen by the people as Paramount Chief. The two other boys, continued the District Commissioner, remaining in the school would probably become men of influence in the country, but that it would be unlikely that either of them would be selected as future Paramount Chief. The principal of the school Mr. Proudfoot, reported upon them very favourably and because of this, "their school fees would be paid by the Government and charged as presents to native Chiefs".<sup>4</sup> The other reason for this decision to pay the fees of these two boys was that Bai Farma III was, at that moment, unable to pay and it would be impolitic to ask the country to levy contributions for the fees.

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1. PRO.C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure No. 5 to Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.
  2. PRO.C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Long. Despatch No. 508, dated November 25, 1907.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.

Further, the boys had now spent nearly two years in the school, "and consequently have cost the Government approximately £100, and this amount would be wasted should the boys have to leave school."<sup>1</sup>

Although the Government gave misconduct as the reason for expelling the boy from the Bo School, Bai Farma III considered the act as victimization, while the Koya people attributed it to the effect of the 'KOTH0' which the father had put upon the crown.

The last punishment on Bai Farma III which was the straw that broke the camel's back' was the withdrawal of the privileges to reside at Romangay or even to visit there, an act which was tantamount to banning him from entering his own country. The reasons given for such action were<sup>2</sup> that Bai Farma III, since his deposition in 1907, had never resided at Romangay, but in Freetown, and had endeavoured to cause trouble by sending messages to Koya country, to the effect that he was likely to be restored to power; that he had been sending numerous petitions, praying for such restoration; that it had been ascertained that the names of such petitions were forgeries; and that as this privilege had been granted him on his deposition as a special concession and subject to his being in good behaviour. Haddon-Smith had merely concurred with the recommendations of Fairtlough, the District Commissioner at Moyamba. In a minute to<sup>3</sup> the Colonial Secretary, dated June 1, 1909, Fairtlough had stated that he had seen Alimamy Conteh, Santigie Conteh, Santigie Kanu, and several others whose names were put on Bai Farma III's letter of March 1,

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1. PRO.C.O.267/497. Probyn to Lord Long. Despatch No. 508, dated November 25, 1907.
  2. PRO.C.O.267/517. Haddon-Smith to the Earl of Crewe. Despatch No. 530, dated October 7, 1909.
  3. PRO.C.O.267/517. Haddon-Smith to The Earl of Crewe. Enclosure No. 1, in Despatch No. 530, dated October 7, 1909.



1909, but that these men repudiated the sentiments contained in the letter and said that their signatures were forgeries and that they had no wish for Bai Farma III to return to Koya. Concluding this Minute, Fairtlough himself did not think that the return of Bai Farma III to Koya would be conducive to the peace and prosperity of the country.<sup>1</sup> In another Minute dated September 17, 1909, Fairtlough had advised that the deposed Paramount Chief should not be addressed as 'Bai Farma' but as 'Dick Wola'.<sup>2</sup> Fairtlough then recommended very strongly that the Government should not hold any further communication with the deposed Bai Farma III, since whenever he received any ordinary letter from the Secretariat, he would make capital out of it and circulated reports throughout the country that he was about to be reinstated; that as he had been deposed by the Government and repudiated by the people and had not availed himself of the privilege so granted him of living at Romangay, he should be informed that that privilege had been withdrawn and that the tribal authority would be instructed not to allow him to receive any benefit from the Koya country. From these minutes, it would appear Fairtlough was himself personally and definitely against Bai Farma III; and in such a case as this which concerned the deposition of a Chief for the 'peace and prosperity' of the country, the Governor would have no alternative but to concur with the recommendations of the District Commissioner, and depose Bai Farma III accordingly.

After Bai Farma III had been officially deposed, Koya country now had to be governed according to the conditions laid down by the Government. According to the decision as to the administration of

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1. See Note 3, p. 384.

2. PRO.C.O.267/517. Haddon-Smith to The Earl of Crewe. Enclosure No. 2, dated September 17, 1909, in Despatch No. 530, dated October 7, 1909.



Koya country consequent to the deposition of this Paramount Chief,<sup>1</sup> Governor Probyn decreed that Koya country should be divided into three Alimamyships, one of which should be the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya; that there should however, be three districts which should not be under the control of the Alimamy. One, under the control of one holding the title of 'Bai', another under the control of the Nemgbana, and the third, the small section of the country around Romangay which should be under the immediate control of the Paramount Chief; that the Alimamyships should be under the control of the Alimamys; that the district under the 'Bai' should be under his control, and that the Nemgbana should control his own district, that each one who was thus placed in the control of an Alimamyship or district, would collect the House Tax within his own jurisdiction and would receive 5% commission for so doing; each one might, at his own option send the money to the Nemgbana or Deputy Paramount Chief for transmission to the District Commissioner or may pay it direct to the District Commissioner in the presence of the Nemgbana or Deputy Paramount Chief. The Nemgbana or Deputy Paramount Chief would receive  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the commission on the total amount of House Tax paid. Whenever any matter arose which would affect the whole of the Koya country, the Nemgbana Dumbuya would exercise his powers on the proviso that he would not issue any order for the deposed Bai Farma III without the consent of the District Commissioner, and that he would not levy any general contribution without the consent of the District Commissioner.

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1. PRO.C.O.267/496. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Sub-Enclosure No. 5 to Enclosure in despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 406, dated October 1, 1907.

Probyn's stipulation clearly laid it down that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu should have the sole right to appoint Headmen for the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya, but that he might not appoint any Alimamy or Alikali; that the Nemgbana or Deputy Chief should not interfere in any way, with the rights of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu to select or appoint Headmen in the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya; but that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu should not appoint any person to the headship of Mathenefore without the previous consent of the District Commissioner.

The District Commissioner for Ronietta District was authorised to visit Mathenefore to enquire whether there was any special reason why the power of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu over Mathenefore district shall be restricted or altered in any way. He should, in particular, enquire whether the future Headman of Mathenefore should or should not be a resident of that town.

Another important issue in Probyn's decision was the disbandment of the sub-chiefs of the deposed Bai Farma III. All the appointments of Alimamys, Alikalis, Santigies, or Headmen in the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya were now cancelled and would not be recognised by the Government. It was also stated that the school fees of the remaining two boys at the Bo School would be paid by the Government. The intention here was that when the boys reached a sufficiently mature age, the Koya people might be able to choose one of them as their Paramount Chief, in the prescribed manner in accordance with their custom, and that the future Paramount Chief should have full control over the whole country including the Alimamyship of Foredugu or Upper Koya subject to such Paramount Chief recognizing the special jurisdiction or powers possessed by the Alimamy of Foredugu or Upper Koya.

Such a decision would definitely not bring everlasting peace in Koya country. The division of the country into sections for local government purposes, which at first appeared artificial sooner or later became a reality. It caused divisions and divided loyalty among its rulers. It had definitely ruined Bai Farma III and raised Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu and his Bunduka family more than ever before. The punishment had proved too heavy for him to bear; and so, according to Koya traditions, he died (some say, he committed suicide), in Freetown, and his body carried back to Koya and given a ceremonial<sup>1</sup> burial at Robacca.

Bai Farma III had ruled Koya for only five years when he was deposed and died two years later. Almost throughout this short period of his administration he enjoyed no peace and Koya country was not at rest. The Kamaras of Magbeni had no confidence in him. The Bundukas of Foredugu and their powerful strangers at Rothumba were directly opposed to his administration for their leader, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, accused him of bad faith and pursued this accusation to the bitter end. His son was expelled from the Bo School which incident seriously reduced the boy's chances of becoming Paramount Chief of Koya. Finally, he lost face with the Government and died in Freetown. To the Koya people, his unhappiness and short reign were the effect of the 'KOTHO' which he himself had brought upon the crown, by becoming Paramount Chief on the one hand, and crowning a Nemgbana on the other while the old Nemgbana was yet alive, and removing the Nemgbanaship from the Kamaras of Magbeni to the Dumbuyas of Gbabai, and thus causing Nemgbana Simor<sup>2</sup> to die in shame.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 371.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Alhaji Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.
Pa Momodu Bangura, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,	19.2.76.

During the interregnum period of seven years (1907-1914),<sup>1</sup> Koya country was jointly ruled by Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu and Nemgbana Dumbuya of Gbabai with the former holding the superior authority.<sup>2</sup> Nemgbana Dumbuya would have objected to this joint leadership especially when he was playing the inferior role. He would have based his argument on the customary practice of the Nemgbans ruling the whole country on the death of the Paramount Chief. But he was prevented from taking such action by three constraints. In the first place, he was maternally a relation of the Bundukas of Foredugu, being the son of Yan Musu Bundu, daughter of Pa Kombo Bundu. Secondly, he was not an heir to the throne and only favours and diplomacy that catapulted him to that position of Nemgbanship. Thirdly, he realised that the old order was passing away when kingship succession was purely a matter of right; and a new order was dawning when only those favoured by 'the powers that be' could rule, and that in Koya, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu was one of those favoured persons; to attack him therefore, meant self-destruction. In this way, Nemgbana Dumbuya had 'stooped to conquer'; that is, he had to play the junior role in the administration of the chiefdom in order to safeguard his own position.

In order to firmly establish his position, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, as his first move, had to control Charles Smart of Mahera and Sorie Kamara of Magbeni, whose presence in the Chiefdom he felt was

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1. G.W. James: A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law, with Especial reference to the History and customs of the Koya Chiefdom - in Sierra Leone Studies, Vol. XXII 1939.
  2. Oral Traditions - see Note 2, p. 388.



<sup>1</sup>  
a threat. He convinced Fairtlough that Koya would never be peaceful as long as Charles Smart and Sorie Kamara were around. Fairtlough believed this report and both citizens were banished in 1910.

Charles Smart was sent to Kabala in the Kuranko country, and Sorie Kamara, to Yana in Tambaka among the Susu of the extreme north of

<sup>2</sup>  
Sierra Leone. Yan Bome Ruffa, now realising that Alimamy Sinneh Bundu had become the most powerful man in Koya country, and with no leader among her Kamara people at Magbeni, quickly changed sides and declared for the Sinneh Bundu administration. By this act, she safeguarded her own position and protected her people from molestation. Without any serious opponent, and backed by the Government and Nemgbana Dumbuya, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu's administration in Koya was peaceful  
<sup>3</sup>  
throughout this interregnum. No one dared oppose him, and even the members of the Ruling Houses never asked for their crown. He left Koya country in this peaceful state when he died, according to Koya  
<sup>4</sup>  
traditions during the first year of the World War I (1914-1918).

After the death of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, Nemgbana Dumbuya now  
<sup>5</sup>  
assumed full control of Koya country. His first move was to plead with the Government for the return of Charles Smart and Sorie Kamara  
<sup>6</sup>  
since they were big men in the country. His plea was granted.

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1. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,  | 13.1.76. |
| Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,            | 14.1.76. |
| Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie, M'Bamba, Koya Chiefdom, | 14.1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom,         | 15.1.76. |
| Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,      | 31.1.76. |
| Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,         | 3.2.76.  |
| Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom,           | 3.3.76.  |
| Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,         | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Foray Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,           | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Bassie Bundu, Foreduku, Koya Chiefdom,          | 4.2.76.  |
| Pa Foday Kamara, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,           | 19.2.76. |
| Pa Kapprr Kompa, Magbeni, Koya Chiefdom,           | 19.2.76. |
| 2. Ibid.   |          |
| 3. Ibid.      6. Ibid.                             |          |
| 4. Ibid.   |          |
| 5. Ibid.   |          |

Both were taken back to Koya and were restored to their former positions - King Charles Smart, as ruler of Mahera Section; while Sorie Kamara, as head of the Kamaras of Magbeni. King Charles Smart's powers were however, reduced and the title of 'KING' which had been attached to his name by the Frontier Police and by which he had been popularly known, was removed by Pa Nemgbana Dumbuya. The Nemgbana thought it impolitic to have as his sub-chief, a 'King' in his country. Moreover, this was in keeping with the Colonial policy at the time, for the title of 'King' formerly held by the native principal ruler, had been abolished by the Colonial Government when the Sierra Leone Protectorate was established in 1896, in order not to confuse them with the British monarch.

As soon as he was allowed to return and restored to his position, Pa Sorie Kamara began to fight for the crown.<sup>1</sup> This was because, he thought that since Bai Farma III and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu had died, and Nemgbana Dumbuya should not, by customary practice, be crowned, and was not even entitled to it for that matter, there was no other strong man in Koya that was connected with the crown. In this, he was mistaken, for later events proved him wrong. He was however,<sup>2</sup> supported by Pa Alimamy Maka and Charles Smart.

Pa Sorie Kamara's surprise came from the elders of the country.<sup>3</sup> They clearly told him that he could not be crowned being a Poro man. But he argued that if he was crowned, he should be styled Bai Kompa 'KOMEM'. This is from two Temne words 'KO' (go) and 'MEM' (try), which is 'to go and try'. That is, he should be allowed to try and

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

see whether he would survive or not; and that if he died, no other Poro man would attempt it again. On this point, since no other contender had appeared, all the elders and Queens agreed, and a letter was written to D.C. Remmie of Waterloo to that effect. He was just getting ready to be crowned when fresh trouble arose.<sup>1</sup>

Pa Alimamy Conteh who was asked to take the letter to D.C. Remmie at Waterloo did not do so at once. He first went to the family of the late Bai Farma III and persuaded their leaders, Pa Sumana Kompa, Pa King Fallah and Yan Mabinti Fallah, not to transfer their father's property (the crown) to another house. He convinced them to cancel the first agreement and write a fresh letter protesting against the former decision, and to put up their own candidate. They agreed, wrote the letter, and put up Pa Sumana Kompa to contest for their House, the Bai Farma Ruling House.<sup>2</sup> Just at this time, a third candidate appeared. This was Nemgbana Dumbuya, backed by the Administration.<sup>3</sup>

Both letters were enclosed in the same envelope and were carried by the same Pa Alimamy Conteh to D.C. Remmie at Waterloo. After the D.C. had read the two letters, he realised that there was disagreement over the question of succession which he described as "a ring in muddy water; we have to wait until the water is clear before we can search for the ring".<sup>4</sup> At this time, D.C. Remmie openly supported Pa Nemgbana Dumbuya whom, it is said, he described as "the wisest man in Koya".<sup>5</sup> When they returned home, Pa Sorie Kamara,<sup>6</sup> Pa Alimamy Maka and Charles Smart suddenly died. Koya traditions

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

maintain that some people said Pa Sorie Kamara committed suicide, preferring to die in this manner than to be ruled by an opponent. Pa Alimamy Maka and Charles Smart must have been gravely disappointed, because the former was a brother of Pa Sorie Kamara, while the latter had been his colleague in exile for eight years. They had been confident that the success of Pa Sorie Kamara would bring them renewed power and prosperity. Other people thought they were killed through magical art. The deaths of these two men now reduced the contest into a two-cornered fight between Pa Sumana Kompa and Pa Nemgbana Dumbuya.

Pa Sumana Kompa was supported by Pa Sumana King, Alimamy Conteh, Yan Mabinti Fallah, all of whom were leading members of his family. Outside Koya itself, he enlisted the support of Bai Simra Ponko of Masimra Chiefdom, Bai Kafari of Tane Chiefdom and Kandeh Bali of Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom.<sup>1</sup> These Paramount Chiefs who had been appointed Assessor Chiefs in Ronietta District, were to take part in the selection of the new Paramount Chief of Koya country.

Pa Nemgbana Dumbuya was supported by the Bundukas of Foredugu, his maternal home; the Kamaras of Magbeni who had now joined him because, since their own candidate, Pa Sorie Kamara had died, they thought it wise to declare for a candidate supported by the Bundukas of Foredugu. From the Administration, he was supported by D.C. Fairtlough himself; D.C. Rennie of Waterloo; Pa Borbor,<sup>2</sup> the Interpreter at the D.C.'s Court at Moyamba, to whom Nemgbana Dumbuya had given (it is

1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.

2. Ibid - Although this cannot be proved from written documents, yet there was at the D.C.'s Court at Moyamba, one Interpreter, called Pa Amadu Borbor - Ref. - C.O.267/548. Report of Ronietta District for the year 1912. D.C. Dowden to Merewheather. Enclosure in Despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 91, dated February 28, 1913. Merewheather to Rt. Hon. L.V. Harcot.



alleged), his younger sister, Yan Bome Warra Gassama in marriage,<sup>1</sup> having snatched her from her husband, Pa Fadika, in Guinea. Both candidates, with all their supporters proceeded to Mayamba for the election.

In putting forward his claims, Pa Sumana Kompa argued<sup>2</sup> that he was a direct descendant of Bai Farma III Ruling House while Nemgbana Dumbuya did not belong to any Ruling House; that Nemgbana Dumbuya in fact, had had no right to have been a Nemgbana while the Old Nemgbana (Simor) was still alive, whereby causing 'KOTH0', and that if such a man were crowned, he would cause another 'KOTH0' of the sort in Koya; that Nemgbana Dumbuya was a perfect stranger in Koya and to crown him Paramount Chief would be to bring in more strangers into the Koya crown, the precedent the Koya people had all along been trying to avoid after the death of Bai Kompa Ke Mant, who was a Bangura of the Masimra Ruling Class.

It was now Nemgbana Dumbuya's turn to put forward his claims. Beginning with the question of his being crowned a Nemgbana while the Old Nemgbana (Simor) was still alive, he argued<sup>3</sup> that it was no fault of his but that of the late Paramount Chief Bai Farma III. On the question of his wishing to be crowned Paramount Chief, he being a Nemgbana, he pointed out that a precedent had been set when Nemgbana Bureh was crowned Bai Bureh and that it would be unjust to prevent him from becoming Bai Kompa on this ground; that he had laboured too long in the country to be ignored, having served under Bai Farma III, and ruling the country together with Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, without

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1. Oral Traditions, - see Note 1, p. 393.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.

disturbing the latter.<sup>1</sup> On this point, James has noted

"Bai Kompa though not a direct descendant of any of the recognized ruling families at the time of his candidature to the office of Paramount Chief, was yet the grandson of a man who had rendered signal services to the Chieftdom, and who had, furthermore, himself by his own successful ten years' tenure of the post of regent, qualified for entry into the ranks of those whose undisputed hereditary rights marked them out as potential rulers."<sup>2</sup>

AND

"Of the two chief claims to the crown put forward by Bai Farima's Neng Bana (the late Bai Kompa) namely, that first he had deserved well of the people by carrying on the regency with success and satisfaction for a number of years, and secondly, came from a family of a man who had rendered signal services in the country in time of trouble."<sup>3</sup>

This Bai Farma's Nemgbana was, according to Koya traditions,<sup>4</sup> Nemgbana Dumbuya. His successful services were those he rendered when he served under his Paramount Chief for five years. He also served as regent for seven years jointly with Alimamy Sinneh Bundu until the latter's death.<sup>5</sup> James says he was regent for ten years. Regarding his being a descendant of "a family of a man who had rendered signal services in the country in time of trouble", this must be a reference<sup>6</sup> to his maternal grandfather, Pa Kombo Bundu who, Koya traditions say, was the leading warrior in defending Koya during the war of Kafiri.

The elders of the Chieftdom had dismissed the candidature of Pa Sumana Kompa on the ground that the father of Bai Farma III for whose Ruling House he put forward his claims, was a man from Safroko

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.
  2. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law ..." p.114.
  3. Ibid ... p. 117.
  4. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.
  5. G.W. James: "A Brief Account of Temne Constitutional Law ..." p.114.
  6. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

country and not a Koya man, and that the era was a reign of terror in

<sup>1</sup>  
Koya. James has rightly commented that

"With reference to the point that is sometimes made at the election proceedings of a new Chief, by a claimant, that his rival is not purely of the blood of his chiefdom, in Koia, the father of Bai Farma above-mentioned was a man from Safroko Chiefdom in the north, but he married a Koya woman as Bum Rafa and supported his claim to the chieftaincy by pointing out this fact. When the late Bai Kompa's [Kompa Dumbuya] election was in the offing, the elders of the Chiefdom ruled out ~~that~~ Bai Farma's descendants [Pa Sumana Kompa and family] on the ground that the former Chief had obtained the crown by coercion and bribery, was of partly foreign extraction, and his reign had been a reign of terror. The Chief was in fact, eventually deposed by the Government."<sup>2</sup>

Despite this disqualification, Pa Sumana Kompa continued the fight, being fully supported by the Assessor Chiefs.

When the assessor Chiefs were asked for their opinion, they consulted and gave a unanimous verdict against Nemgbana Dumbuya, pointing out that his father was a Susu who first settled at Maforki, then at Rokel, and came to Koya as a mere sawyer to saw boards and timber during the timber trade; that Nemgbana Dumbuya was thus a <sup>3</sup> perfect stranger and had no business in the Koya crown. Nemgbana Dumbuya sharply rebutted the evidence that he was a perfect stranger in Koya. He pointed out that it was not he who came to Koya but his father, Pa Sumana Kargbo Dumbuya, who married Yan Musu Bundu, daughter of Pa Kombo Bundu of Foredugu, and that he was the issue of that marriage. This statement was confirmed by Pa Dauda Kargbo, the oldest man at Magbeni. Nemgbana Dumbuya was therefore, a Koya citizen, <sup>4</sup> maternally. This however, did not prove him an heir to the crown,

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

2. G.W. James: "Temne Constitutional Law ..." p. 116.

3. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

4. Ibid.



but the Administration was on his side. District Commissioner Fairtlough rejected the evidence of the assessor chiefs, accepted the argument of Nemgbana Dumbuya and crowned him. His coronation took place at Moyamba in the Mende country and not in Koya. The new Paramount Chief assumed the title of Bai Kompa Dumbuya. This was in 1914.

As soon as the staff of office was handed to Bai Kompa Dumbuya, Pa Sumana Kompa disappeared, went into voluntary exile and died shortly afterwards. He was buried at Malanchor in the Yoni Mabanta country.<sup>1</sup> The Administration might be accused of favouring Nemgaban Dumbuya, but this was not without a reason. The reason might be found by critically considering the evidence of the assessor chiefs on the one hand and how it might have affected the course of the administration of Koya Chiefdom; and on the other hand, what might have been the motive of these assessor Chiefs for so vehemently condemning Nemgbana Dumbuya. In the first place, the Administration might have failed to recollect, in appointing these assessors, that two of them, Kandeh Bali of Port Loko and Bai Simra Ponko had been direct opponents of the Government. Kandeh Bali (then Ansumana Bali) was one of the bitter opponents of the House Tax in 1898, for which he and four others were deported and imprisoned in Freetown.<sup>2</sup> Bai Simra Ponko had been a very stubborn man, having no respect for Government Officers and no regard for Government orders. His conduct not found to be conducive to good government, this Chief was deposed by Governor Sir Leslie Probyn in 1907, but was subsequently reinstated in 1910.<sup>3</sup> Such assessors might not be the type of men to

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 390.

2. Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner on the subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898. (C9388), 1899, pp. 109-115. Evidence by Bockary Bamp, Bai Salmansa, Santigie Keareh, Alfa Saidoo, and Ansumana Bali - all of Port Loko.

3. PRO.C.O.267/577. King-Harman to Rt. Hon. W.H. Long. Despatch No. 84, dated March 28, 1918.



generate goodwill for the Government. Secondly, both men might have already begun to be jealous of the growing influence of Nemgbana Dumbuya, and to support him at an election might mean crowning someone who might sooner or later supersede them in influence, as future events as contained in the bitterness between Bai Kompa Dumbuya and Bai Simra Ponko, illustrated.

Having been crowned, Bai Kompa Dumbuya returned to Koya and set himself on the task of consolidating his position. His first move was to satisfy the Bundukas of Foredugu. In order to do this, he allowed himself to be ceremonially confined in the Kantha, and installed at Foredugu, and not at Robacca, as was the customary practice.<sup>1</sup> His second duty was to appoint his sub-chiefs. He chose two of his brothers and crowned them Nemgbana An Thura (a Bull, as he was so huge and strong),<sup>2</sup> and Kapprr Kompa, respectively. He and these sub-chiefs did not go to Robacca and Magbeni as<sup>3</sup> was the custom, but permanently resided at Gbabai, his own home town. The new Nemgbana however, did not live long, but died a few months after his installation, an incident which the Koya people attributed to the 'KOTHO'.<sup>4</sup> After this incident, the Kamaras of Magbeni formed a delegation and approached Bai Kompa Dumbuya and requested him to give them their Nemgbana Crown, a request which he willingly and quickly granted.<sup>5</sup> He crowned Pa Momo M'Keni Kamara, eldest surviving son of Pa Sorie Kamara, as Nemgbana Kamara. Nemgbana Kamara did not

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1. Oral Traditions  
Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76.  
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.

however, come to Magbeni until the 'KOTH0' had been removed by the whole country.<sup>1</sup>

After he had restored the Nemgbanaship at Magbeni, Koya traditions continue,<sup>2</sup> Bai Kompa Dumbuya assembled all the elders of the Chiefdom at Gbabai and addressed them. In the address, he told them that Koya was the property of the Kamaras of Magbeni; that it was Bai Farma III and he himself that brought the last 'KOTH0' in the Country in that Bai Farma III deposed Nemgbana Simor and crowned him (he Nemgbana Dumbuya), while Simor was yet alive; that this was indeed contrary to the customs and constitution of the Koya country; that Nemgbana An Thura having died, he (Bai Kompa Dumbuya), was now ready to remove his own 'KOTH0' by restoring the crown to the Kamaras of Magbeni. He thus proclaimed that after his death, the Bai Kompa Crown should go to Pa Nemgbana Kamara of Magbeni; that no one, even his own children, should claim the Bai Kompa Crown without appealing to the Kamaras of Magbeni. The assembly was quite pleased with these pronouncements as it was felt another restoration had dawned. After he had made those pronouncements Bai Kompa Dumbuya ruled for over twenty years before he died. This pleased all the Koya people that all the 'TOTH0' had at long last, been properly and finally removed from their country. Bai Kompa Dumbuya then confirmed the position of Bome Ruffa to the eldest female Kamara of Magbeni.

Turning back to Foredugu, he crowned Alimamy Maka from the Komboya Ruling House, as successor to Alimamy Sinneh Bundu. He then revived the Alimamyships of Rothumba and Makambi, and increased the Alimamyships to ten, thus forming a group of powerful supporters.

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p. 398.

2. Ibid.

To strengthen his relationship with the Government Bai Kompa Dumbuya supported the Government in the World War I (1914-18) popularly known in Sierra Leone as the 'Cameroon War' - because, the soldiers recruited in Sierra Leone were sent to serve in the Cameroons in West Africa - by recruiting many soldiers in his Chiefdom.<sup>1</sup> He supplied the contingent temporarily stationed in Freetown with rice and palm-oil, and other foodstuffs. For these services, he was rewarded with the Assessor Chiefship among the Southern Temne Chiefdoms.<sup>2</sup> Temne traditional accounts<sup>3</sup> refer to this appointment as "Honourable Chairmanship". Thus by the end of 1920, Bai Kompa Dumbuya had become the most influential and powerful Paramount Chief among the Southern Temne Chiefs and had restored political stability in Koya Chiefdom.

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa AmaraThana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76.
Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom,	14.1.76.
Pa AmaraThana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31.1.76.
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,	3.2.76.
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.3.76.
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	20.1.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22.3.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,	18.4.76.
Mr. W.M. Babgura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom,	18.4.76.

## CHAPTER IV

THE MAFORKI COUNTRY

The Maforki or Bake Loko country is situated on the Port Loko Creek which is the northern tributary of the Sierra Leone River. This Creek joins the Rokel River at the Kassankoh Point<sup>1</sup> and both rivers empty themselves in the Sierra Leone River, a few miles from Bunce Island. Between Bunce Island and the Port Loko Creek are historic rocks which were "never covered by the highest tide."<sup>2</sup> Maforki traditions say<sup>3</sup> that they would travel and were the residence of the devil controlling the crown of that country for which the natives would offer annual sacrifices to them. T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of the Native Affairs, say that it was for this reason they were referred to as the "Devil Rocks."<sup>4</sup>

Lawson and Parkes have described<sup>5</sup> Port Loko as a "district" situated about 60 or 70 miles from Freetown on the Port Loko River; that it "is in the Mendi Mafonti district"; and that "it is called Bacca Lokko" which is translated as Port Loko, and receives its name from its being a port from which many Loko people were being sold at

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu Badara Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 T.G. Lawson and J.C.E. Parkes. Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity. C0806/279 (Feb. 1887).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



Bunce Island.<sup>1</sup> The use of the term 'district' by Lawson and Parkes to describe both Port Loko and Mendi Mafonti before the nineteenth century appears misleading. The term 'district' is a Colonial invention describing the administrative areas of the hinterland which was proclaimed a 'protectorate' in 1896. But even according to these political arrangements, both Port Loko and Mendi Mafonti were included in the Karene District. The reason why Lawson and Parkes used this term 'district' before the 1890s can best be explained by assuming that it was probably to illustrate the working of their minds as regards the relationship between the Colony and the hinterland, at that time. Both personalities being civil servants, and so fervently loyal to the British Crown, and Lawson in particular, believing that the extension of British authority would be in the best interest of the Africans, were not inclined to believe in the idea of the existence of the Kingdoms with their Kings as supreme rulers in the hinterland of Sierra Leone. They therefore, thought of the interior as constituting areas of influence having principal chiefs, rather than kings, with no absolute powers of their own. After all, by 1886 when Lawson and Parkes were compiling their accounts, many treaties of peace, friendship, and protection had already been signed between the Chiefs and the Colony Government, and moreover, the Aborigines or Native Affairs Department to deal with all interior matters, was already operating under them. Further, by using the term 'district', they must have already been suggesting the future political situation of the interior - that at some future time, the whole of the interior

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.401.

would become a legitimate British sphere of influence and its administrative reorganization into districts would become a reality.

Concerning the boundaries of this territory, those given in the Port Loko Convention or treaty of 1825 can suffice. According to this convention, the ceded territory of 'BACCA LOCCO' is situated and bounded

"On the north by the River Mongo or Small Scarcies from the line of the Kakupper Creek on the West to East, on the East by a line from Kassa to the Savourey River which separates the said territories from the Maccama country, on the South by the boundary line of Pa Coubulo's territory from thence through the plains of Lalliloboo to Kassanko Point at the confluence of the River Port Logo to Ka Kupper Creek and a line thereof to the River Mongo or Small Scarcies together with all the rivers, inlets and waters of the same." 1

These boundaries remained permanent throughout the nineteenth century; that is, the Port Loko territory can be said to be bounded on the north, by the Little Scarcies and Ro-Mende country; on the south by the Rokel River which separates it from the Koya country; on the west by the Port Loko Creek and the Lokomasama country; and on the east by the Marampa country. By these boundaries, the Port Loko territory had been delimited and therefore, became synonymous to the whole of Maforki, by which name this country became known after the title of its crown, the Bai Sebor, was changed to Bai Forki. An account of this change is given in a later section of this chapter.

In the case of Port Loko the town, Lawson and Parkes' assertion that it was so named because it was the port where many

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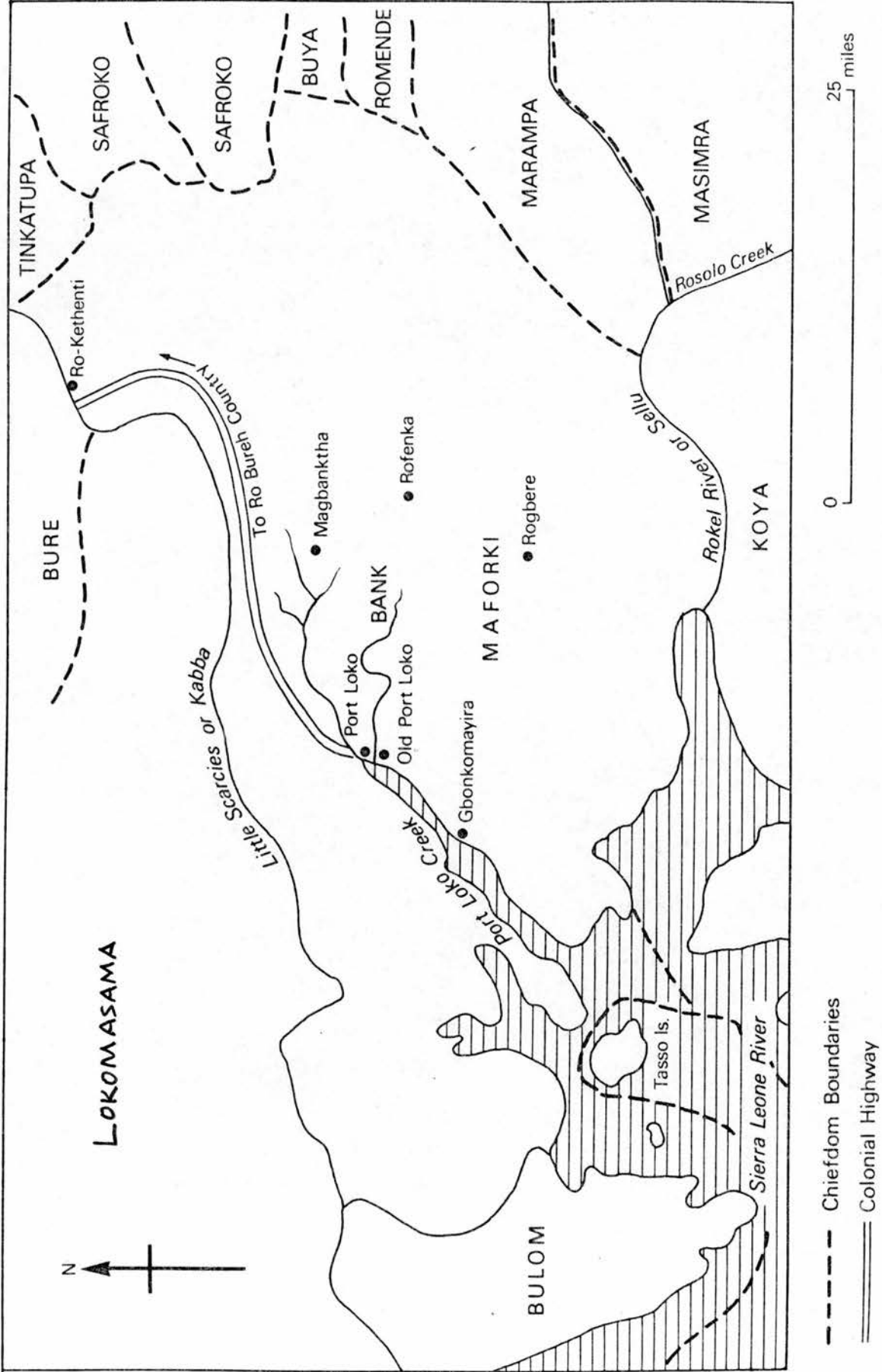
1. PRO.C0267/402. Enclosure in Crooks to the Marquis of Ripon, 214. 23.6.93.

Loko slaves were being shipped to be sold at Bunce Island,<sup>1</sup> has been supported by Kup, quoting Schlenker.<sup>2</sup> To some extent, these explanations can be accepted as in Temne, 'Port Loko' or 'Bake Loko' literally means, the port of the Loko people,<sup>3</sup> and Maforki traditions also hold this view.<sup>4</sup> But it should be remembered that when Lawson and Parkes were writing in the 1880s, the Loko were a defeated people known as victims; but the name Port Loko goes back to a period when they were a powerful people. For instance, Fyfe<sup>5</sup> has suggested that the name "Port Loko" has a Portuguese origin as in the case of "Lagos" in Nigeria, for the English word lagoon, is derived from the Portuguese "lagoa", meaning, "a swamp." He bases his suggestion on the fact of the Portuguese traders settling in the Port Loko in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact of the Portuguese settlement at the source of the Port Loko Creek where the present town of Port Loko is located is vehemently supported by Maforki traditions.<sup>6</sup> There are also other alternative explanations.

Port Loko seems obviously connected with the Loko people who had already, in the sixteenth century, been a powerful people under Mani Kings and in the 1580s were ~~war~~ing with the Limbas and supplying the Portuguese with slaves captured in these wars, and they only declined

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1. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes: Information Regarding the Various Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity, p.23.
  2. A.P. Kup: A History of Sierra Leone 1400-1787(C.U.P., 1962), p.63.
  3. Personal Knowledge of the Temne language.
  4. Oral Traditions  
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom 14.12.75  
 Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75
  5. C. Fyfe: "Correspondence on Port Loko" - Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.11 (1958), pp.174-5.
  6. Oral Traditions - See Note 5 above.

MAFORKI SHOWING IMPORTANT PLACES (up to the 1890's)





in power in the seventeenth century. By this time, Port Loko had already been well established. Writing between 1840 and 1860, the Rev. Christian Schlenker stated that Port Loko was originally inhabited by the Lokos from whence they were driven by the Temnes and from whom the town Port Loko derived its name.<sup>1</sup> Hirst has therefore, asserted that Port Loko was one of the areas where the Lokos were predominant since 1790.<sup>2</sup> She has further stated that the Loko originally called themselves "Logos", but that the Temne who later dominated them substituted the letter "k" for "g", as they experienced difficulty in pronouncing the letter "g"; so that the name "Loko" came to be adopted and "Bake Loko", literally translated as "Port Loko."<sup>3</sup> Hodgson has said that Bai Forki, the overlord of the area had six Loko towns under his jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup>

It however, still remains to be proved as to whether Loko slaves were being shipped from this town and that was how it derived its name as asserted by Lawson and Parkes. Both Wurie and Hirst probably copying Lawson and Parkes have also said that Loko slaves were actually sold at Port Loko and shipped from there;<sup>5</sup> but they do not say this was why the town was so named.

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1. E.A. Hirst. "An Attempt at reconstructing the History of the Loko People from 1790 to the present day" - Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.9 (Dec. 1957) p.30.
  2. Ibid., p.28, & Map on p.30.
  3. Ibid., p.29.
  4. H.C. Hodgson: "Historical Sketch of Port Loko.." Sierra Leone Studies. O.S. No.XVII (Feb.1932) p.40.
  5. See Note 1 above for Hirst, p.22. A. Wurie. "The Bundukas of Sierra Leone." - Sierra Leone Studies N.S. No.1 (1953) p.22.

The fact was that Port Loko was near the slave factory at Bunce Island, and as a port, it was possible that not only Loko, but Temne, Limba, Susu, etc., slaves were being sold there and exported from there too. Laing simply says that Port Loko "receives its name from its being in former times the port of communication between the Europeans and this district of the Timanee country."<sup>1</sup> It is therefore, more likely that the town derived its name either from the Portuguese word "alagoas" or from the fact that it originally belonged to the Loko people as their port or landing place. It should be noted that Lawson and Parkes were not likely to be in a position to give accurate meanings to such places, such as Port Loko. Lawson was not a scholar to be able to make a thorough research on the origin of names; and Parkes who merely compiled what Lawson had written had but a very scanty knowledge of the hinterland before the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Lawson himself was only a foreigner having arrived in Sierra Leone only in 1825, eighteen years after the slave trade had been made illegal in British territories. He might have only collected the information about the origin of the name (Port Loko) from the Temne with whom he was very friendly, and who might have painted such information to assert their 'national' superiority over the Loko whom they had completely dominated at the Port Loko area during the nineteenth century.

Like Koya, the people of Maforki were ruled by Mani Kings. When the Portuguese traders settled at the then Loko Kingdom known as Mitombo, it was a Mani that was the ruler.<sup>2</sup> But by about the last

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1. Laing, Travels,...p.75.

2. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.3.

quarter of the seventeenth century, the Temne had supplanted the Loko on the southern shore of the Port Loko Creek; so that whether the King was Mani or not, the people were Temne.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to establish a precise date of the assumption of the supreme control of Bake Loko, by the Temne. But it appears that by the eighteenth century when the Susu had begun to settle in large numbers in that country and as such, were allowed to establish their Alimamyship, there were already Temne Kings.<sup>2</sup> This also shows the collapse of Mani rule in that part of the Temne country.

According to Maforki traditions,<sup>3</sup> the first Temne King in that country was a migrant from the town of Marank in Gbambali Seborá country. He was a Kamara of the ruling class of that country. This first Temne ruler assumed the title of Bai Rank because he had been an elephant hunter (for in Temne, Rank means an elephant), and moreover, he hailed from Marank. He and his followers first settled at Ro-Gbarang or Ro-Barra, and Foredugu in Romende country where they were known as the Barra (or Gbarra) family. When he migrated to Bake Loko country in his hunting expedition, some of his brothers and followers remained in Romende country where they settled permanently. Port Loko traditions<sup>4</sup> maintain that this Barra family of Foredugu Mende of

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.3.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31. 1.76

3. Ibid.

4. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

Romende Kingdom were the first rulers of Port Loko. But this ruler seems to have been the only holder of the Bai Rank title, for when he died his younger brother who succeeded him took the title of Bai Seboras after their relatives, the Bai Seboras, in Gbambali Seboras country, who were Kamaras by clan affiliation.

After several Bai Seboras had reigned, the crown became involved in 'KOTHO'<sup>1</sup> which caused the deaths of several successors. The 'KOTHO' was put on the crown by the Susu settlers by swearing some relatives of the ruling class who took their goods on credit, and refused to pay their just debt.<sup>2</sup> Because of this 'KOTHO', the descendants of the Bai Seboras became afraid to assume the crown. An old Kanu man was thus invited from the Gbarra family at Romende country to be crowned.<sup>3</sup> This old man described the Bake Loko Crown as something wrapped in a parcel (AN FORK, in TEMNE) and that he was only accepting the crown to unfold that parcel (KA FORKI, or KA FORKRI, in Temne). That is, he first had to remove the 'KOTHO' before he could assume the crown. After he had completed the ceremony of the removal of the 'KOTHO', he assumed the crown and changed its title to 'BAI FORKI' and the name of the country, 'MAFORKI', with its headquarters at Magbanktha, which became the ceremonial residence of all the Bai Forkis. The full name of this first Bai Forki was Bai Forki Pa Makasi - that is, the Bai Forki who would not tolerate any wrong. He thus created his own Ruling House in a crown which would dominate the overlordship of Maforki up to the early part of the

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1. Oral Traditions see Note 4, p.407.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.



twentieth century. From the date of the founding of the Bai Forki crown all its successors but the first, were Kamaras.<sup>1</sup>

By 1949, when Maforki and Bake Loko Chiefdoms were amalgamated to form the present Maforki Chiefdom, twenty chiefs<sup>2</sup> had ruled that country, and nine of them were styled Bai Forki.<sup>3</sup> The Bai Forki Crown had six Ruling Houses<sup>4</sup> and the rotational crowning principle had been strictly abided by, in order to prevent further 'KOTH0' on the crown.

The influence of the Bai Forkis did not seem to be limited only, around Maforki, but spread to many other Temne countries. The Bai Forki seemed to have been the overlord of many other Temne Chiefs, for he was connected by family ties with the people of Rogbarang in the Buya, Romende, and Lokomasama countries; and by marriage and friendship ties, with those at Mange and Ro-Bureh countries; in short, he was the official father of the chiefs of those countries.<sup>5</sup>

The Bai Forki Crown was of Ramena Society and it had numerous

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu Badara Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75

2. Sierra Leone Provinces Handbook, 1969/70, p.19.

3. See Appendix II B(1).

4. See Appendix II B.

5. Oral Traditions. See Note 1 above.

taboos or negative prohibitions. Three of the most important ones were, prevention from entering Port Loko Town; seeing a White Man or a White Man seeing him; and seeing or touching salt water or going to the sea or river.<sup>1</sup> These prohibitions could however, be considered not as mere taboos; they also had their political implications. In Temne country before 1896, local wars were very prevalent and it would be unadvisable for a king to travel outside his Kingdom for fear of being assassinated by enemies who might carry away his head and regalia or sacred things, whereby causing an interregnum in his country; and in most cases, interregna were periods of confusion and unrest. Secondly, many West African rulers before the mid-nineteenth century had the common tradition of not wanting to see Europeans. Typical examples were the kings of Dahomey, Togo, Yorubaland, Hausaland, etc. In Sierra Leone and among the Southern Temne, the Bai Rampas of Marampa, the Bai Simras of Masimra, the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mananta, and the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella, were all cases in point. The reason for such an attitude was that they might probably have feared that they would be obliged to treat the Europeans visitors as equals, and not as subordinates, and that would lessen their own status or prestige. That is, in their own traditional thinking, no one (including visitors) should be equal to them in their own countries. Because of the difficulty of seeing the Bai Forki, his powerful sub-chief at Port Loko (who was an Alimamy up to 1815; but an Alikali from 1816), usually attended all important meetings and entered into negotiations with the Administration on behalf of his overlord. This was why the Europeans often made the mistake of thinking that the Alikali was the King of Bake Loko.

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p,409.

Bai Forki Pa Makasi was succeeded by two Bai Forkis in succession, before <sup>the</sup>revered Bai Forki Bathpolon. These were Bai Forki Pinkineh and Bai Forki, Kump Yamu or Sonkai I, whose reigns did not make much impression on their subjects.

Like Pa Konko London in Koya, it was Bai Forki Bathpolon that built up the constitution of the Maforki Kingship which continued to be abided by up to the 1920s. He seems to have ascended the throne during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, for Maforki traditions<sup>1</sup> say that he was already king when the Colony of Freetown was founded in 1787. He took great advantage of the longevity of his reign to set up the political organization of his country for according to Maforki traditions,<sup>2</sup> he was on the throne for over seventy years. According to his constitution there should be a sub-chief to be styled Pa Ke Korr (man of the family), of KORR KA BOMP (leader of the clan) from among the King's relations, who should be second in command; Pa Roke who should be the custodian of the sacred things of the crown and who should act as regent on the demise of the Bai Forki until a new king was installed. In treaty No.67 of 1857, Pa Ke Korr or Kor Ke Bomp is referred to as "Korr-a-Bump, A Chief of Old Port Loko," who was entitled to an annual stipend of 50 bars.<sup>3</sup> Bai Forki Bathpolon insisted that the Ramena Society should be the sacred society for the Bai Forki Crown, although there was Poro located in that country.<sup>4</sup> He also revived an ancient society called

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alimamy Folla, Port Loko, Maforki, Chiefdom,	31.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75

3. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1853-1862)  
Vol.III, p.429, Treaty No.67 Feb. 27, 1857.

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.

'AN DONDO' which was said to have been owned by the Temne who first arrived in that country.<sup>1</sup> The reason for his support of these two societies was more political than social. He wanted to be in keeping with the chiefly ceremonies of his neighbours in Koya, Marampa, Buya, and Romende which was the original home of the Bai Forkis, and which country had the same crowning ceremonies. The descendants of the original Temne whose secret society 'An Dondo', was thus revived, felt honoured and in consequence, declared for his administration. He buttressed the Alimamyship of Bake Loko, a crown instituted by the Susu immigrants from Melecure in modern Guinea, who were both traders in commodities and slaves, as well as Muslim intenerants.<sup>2</sup> They settled in Bake Loko because of its strategic position as a station for the caravans from the north to Freetown. The Alimamy of Bake Loko therefore, became a very powerful sub-chief of Bai Forki Bathpolon, as his chief revenue collector.

It is difficult to date the migration of the Susu into Temne country in general, and into Port Loko territory in particular. Maforki traditions say<sup>3</sup> that they had come to that country very many years ago; and Lawson and Parkes say "in bygone years."<sup>4</sup> Both these sources are agreed on the story of the migration and settlement of the Susu in Port Loko, that<sup>5</sup> these Susu were of the Sankoh family from

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1. & 2. See note 2, page 411

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75

4. Lawson & Parkes, p.23.

5. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 above.



Mellecure in the Moria country; that they were slave dealers for which they would incite the natives to go to war; that they were permitted to settle at Bake Loko where they built their own towns of Sendugu and Robat on the south bank of the Port Loko Creek, while the Temne remained in Old Port Loko and built another town called Ro-Marung; that being "Muslims" and more intelligent than the Temne who were then "Pagans" the Susu usurped the chief authority of the country and crowned their own Alimamy; and that the Temne being powerless to resist, submitted and gave them their daughters in marriage, and sons to be taught the Koran.

That the Susu usurped the chief authority of the Port Loko country, is open to doubt for we are informed that the King of the country was Bai Forki.<sup>1</sup> Further, Frere says that it was the Bai Forki who gave these Susus the Alimamyship of Port Loko as a reward for the role they played in the war against the Marampa people in the early eighteenth century and that since then they "had been looked upon as part owners of the country with the Barra family."<sup>2</sup> Laing believes that it was the lack of unity among the Temne and Loko, who were the original owners of Port Loko that afforded the Susu the opportunity to gain pre-eminence in the territory.<sup>3</sup> This writer also states that "the Lokos, like the rest of the Timanees of the present day were not united among themselves, and afforded an easy access to the entrance and settlement of the Mahommedan strangers among them, who becoming gradually powerful, at length established an authority

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1. H.C. Hodgson. "Historical Sketch of Port Loko", p.40.

2. N.G. Frere. "Notes on the History of Port Loko" - Sierra Leone Studies (1932) p.63.

3. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries, p.72.

which enabled them to compete with the native Pagan Chiefs."<sup>1</sup> The Mohamedan settlers referred to here obviously included the Susu immigrants as already illustrated by Maforki traditions.

The first two Susu Alimamys, Namina Modu and Amara acquired the title by appointment from the Bai Forki, and not by usurpation as stated by Maforki traditions,<sup>2</sup> and Lawson and Parkes. Although they were very important as rulers of the chief port of the country, they were still under the Bai Forki to whom they would pay large dues. This must be Bai Forki Bathpolon whom Maforki traditions say<sup>3</sup> reigned for over seventy years and crowned the first six Alikalis whose total length of rulership stretched from 1815 to 1867. The Maforki Temne narrators of these traditions must have made this scathing comment out of sheer desire to discredit the Susu rulers, and Lawson who had very little knowledge of Temne history of the remote past, might have merely got the episode (which was the only information he could possibly have got) from the words of his Temne informants, and Parkes might have, accordingly, recorded it as such.

But Bai Forki Bathpolon was faced with a very dramatic situation which seriously undermined his authority at Bake Loko. This was the death of his most trusted Susu Alimamy Amara Sankoh, and the usurpation of that crown by Brima Konkori, another Susu, but of a

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1. H.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko, p.72.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75

3. Ibid.

different family.

According to Maforki traditions,<sup>1</sup> Brima Konkori had come from Susu country as a warrior to help the Koya people in their wars against the Masimra People. But he did not quite settle in one place; rather, he kept on moving about the neighbourhood with his war-men to catch slaves, although he was most frequently visiting Port Loko where there were already large populations of Susus. William Dawes, one of the early Governors of Freetown settlement, describes him as a "most enterprising, ambitious, and warlike man."<sup>2</sup> He was a man with a burning desire to rule. He appeared to have been one of the elite of his homeland, because, according to the Maforki traditions, he had been offered the chiefship at Melecure which he declined as he was ambitious to be ruler of Port Loko, whose natural advantages he felt would easily make him wealthy and powerful. Laing noted in 1822 that Konkori was a "Chief from Malacouri, who had obtained much authority in the country."<sup>3</sup>

When Alimamy Amara died Brima Konkori rushed to Port Loko with his war-men, seized the crown and property of the late Alimamy, and crowned himself as an Alimamy of the Susu Sankohs of Sendugu in Bake Loko. This was unacceptable to the original Susus of Sendugu as he was not entitled to that crown, nor had he any right to the late Alimamy's property. He also took control of the whole country and

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Elhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 4.12.75  
 Pa Alimamy Folla, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 31.12.75

2. PRO.CO276/29. "Observations on the situation of Sierra Leone with respect to the surrounding Natives." Dawes to Columbine(1810)N.D.

3. A.G. Laing. Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries,.. p.72.

Bai Forki Bathpolon had no power to stop him because he was a powerful warrior. He was arrogant, tyrannical, and had no regard for Bai Forki's overlordship. In order to cast off his yoke, a combined force of Temne, Mandinka, Fula, and even some Susu men fiercely attacked the Konkori hegemony. The battle was led by Moriba Kindo Bangura of part Temne and part Susu descent, and Fatima Brima Kamara, a Mandinka from Magbele.

It is interesting to note why some of the Susu also joined the war against Konkori. When Moriba Kindo and Fatima began to plan the strategy to attack Konkori, they enlisted the active support of one Pa Brima Ke Yelle Sankoh, the rightful and eldest uncle of these Susu Sankoh of Sendugu. They had known that there had been a standing bitter quarrel between Pa Brima Ke Yelle and Konkori over the property of the late Alimamy Amara Sankoh which he, Konkori had seized.<sup>1</sup> When Konkori realised that he was unable to defeat Pa Brima Ke Yelle, he accused him of witchcraft. To prove his innocence, he, Ke Yelle went to Kabatha to consult a soothsayer or sorcerer who gave him some potion called 'AN KON' to drink.<sup>2</sup> The potion was obtained from the 'KA KON TREE', concocted and 'consecrated' to produce a positive or negative effect of innocence or guilt. That is, if the accused was innocent, after drinking the potion, he would vomit or feel very sick; but if guilty, he would experience severe stomach pain, excrete and then die.<sup>3</sup> The ceremony of the drinking of the potion was performed in public, in the presence of all the Susu Sankos and the

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesey, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.



Temne and Loko of Port Loko. But Pa Brima Ke Yelle vomited and this proved him innocent. When Konkori was advised to apologise to Pa Brima Keyelle for the false accusation, he sharply refused saying that a chief should not apologise to a common man. Pa Brima Ke Yelle did not take immediate action and whenever he was asked what else he would do, he would reply 'KARRGBO'!<sup>1</sup> meaning, 'just wait!' (Temne). This expression was so commonly used in Maforki that Pa Brima Ke Yelle became known as 'Pa KARRGBO' or Pa Brima Karrgbo<sup>2</sup> (Pa Brima the waiting man). This man was thus just extremely pleased to join the campaign against Konkori. In this way Pa Brima Karrgbo's motive was to avenge the wrong that had been done him by Konkori.

In the war which ensued, according to Maforki traditions,<sup>3</sup> Konkori fled, and trying to escape by crossing the Little Scarcies, he was caught and beheaded at a village called 'RO-KATHENTI', situated near Romange, and his head brought to Port Loko in triumph. In Temne, 'KETHENTI' means, 'to look for trouble for oneself,' and in this case, Konkori, by trying to find refuge in that village, had gone there only to find death for himself, for its inhabitants were also against him. Since then, that village has been called 'Ro-Kethenti', which became sacred to the Susu Sankoh of Port Loko even up to the present day. The explanation given by the oral traditions appear

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.416.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu Badara Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.

~~more~~ likely to be correct because Konkori must have probably been trying to return to his homeland in Susu country following the regular trade route to the north which led to that country. Many of his men were killed or captured and sold into slavery.

Commenting on Konkori's fall from power, Laing has noted that "Brima Kenkoure had... a strong party in his favour, and might have been at this day Chief of the Lokos [or the people of Port Loko] had he not began at rather too soon a stage of his power to exercise authority, which produced a combination of the head-men, against him, and proved his downfall."<sup>1</sup> Laing's observation goes a great way to prove that Konkori was indeed a hard-liner in his handling of the local people. Konkori's brother Momoh Sankoh was however allowed to return to Port Loko to collect his goods.<sup>2</sup> The Temne women who were the wives of the Susus, were spared and allowed to return to their relatives. Their children were in addition, allowed to enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship. Among the prominent children of these Susu with Temne women were Namina Lahai Sankoh, Misfarray Bubu Sankoh, Adama Lahai Sankoh, and Momoh Sankoh. Their citizenship was later to be recognized by the Government when they were made stipendiary Chiefs of Port Loko, and signatories of several treaties.<sup>3</sup>

It is surprising that Brima Konkori and his Susu followers who

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1. A.G. Laing. Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa, p.72.
  2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.
  3. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1862). Vol.II, p.299. Treaty No.15, December 12, 1825.  
Vol.II, p.341. Treaty No.35, February 13, 1841.  
Vol.II, p.415. Treaty No.61, May 4, 1853.  
Vol.III, p.429, Treaty No.67, February 27, 1857.  
Vol.III, p.438, Treaty No.73, April 15, 1860.

were also quite proficient in warfare, should be so easily and decisively defeated. One reason for this was that the revolt was so sudden and unexpected that Konkori and his men were not prepared for it - and had been described as 'dramatic.' A second reason was that the Susu had always underrated the Temne who, under the rule of Konkori, were always enslaved. William Dawes described the Temne in 1810 as "a most weak and disunited people."<sup>1</sup> This lack of unity among them obviously made the Susu not to have any regard for them and as such could not believe that they would ever be capable of performing such a remarkable feat in warfare.

After the war, a meeting was held at Magbanktha, the ceremonial residence of Bai Forki Bathpolon, over which meeting he himself presided, to share the power. At this meeting, the title of the chiefship of Port Loko was formally changed from Alimamy to Alikali, and unanimously offered to Moriba Kindo Bangura and Fatima Brima Kamara and their descendants to rule alternatively. Moriba Kindo was to rule first and became Alikali Moriba Kindo Nes (Spider),<sup>2</sup> since he was thought to be as clever and cunning as the Spider. Laing described him in 1822 as "Alie Karlie, or Father of the people, an old man of small stature, but of great strength and activity; and has held this situation since the year 1816 when he was chosen by the unanimous voice of the people, after having slain in battle, Brima Kenkoure..."<sup>3</sup> He seemed a good mixer, quite likeable, kindhearted and sympathetic towards the Temne, who regarded him as one of

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1. PRO.C0267/29. "Observations on Sierra Leone with respect to the surrounding Natives." Dawes to Columbine (1810) N.D.
  2. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.417.
  3. A.G. Laing. Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima, p.72.

themselves, and to demonstrate this he continued to settle at RoMarung in Old Port Loko.<sup>1</sup> He should be succeeded by Fatima Brima Kamara and thus creating the two Ruling Houses of the Alikaliship of Port Loko - the Bangura House and the Kamara Houses.<sup>2</sup> Since the coronation of Moriba Kindo Bangura, fourteen Alikalis have been crowned in rotation.<sup>3</sup> Pa Brima Karrgbo and his descendants were rewarded with the Alimamyship of a section of Maforki, and he assumed the title of Alimamy Brima Karrgbo. He named his section, 'Makarrgbo Section', and his section headquarter town, 'RO-Makarrgbo'.

The Bunduka Fulas who had helped in the war with their charms declined the offer of the Alikaliship to form the third Ruling House for they said they were descendants of Muslim Prophets, who should not drink wine as the Alikalis would normally do in performing official ceremonies. They were thus allowed certain privileges - viz, they could take any money they would find in the court when it would be in session; they should not be summoned in any court in Maforki; they should be exempted from working for the chiefs, cleaning the roads, contributing carriers and labourers; and finally, they should own the mosque and the Salkeneh (an open field for Muslim prayers) - that is, they should be the Muslim religious leaders in Maforki; and that they should crown the Alikalis.

For the Bai Forki, it was unanimously agreed that payment of all wharf dues to him, which had been suspended by Konkori, should be resumed forthwith, and all the assembled chiefs including Alikali

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.417.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. - For list of Alikalis, see Appendix II B(ii).



Moriba Kindo himself re-affirmed their loyalty to him as their overlord. The Alikali then resumed the former economic duties of the former Alimamys of Port Loko, which were the collection of revenue for the Bai Forki. Whenever the Bai Forki would come to Port Loko, he would not, according to customary practice,<sup>1</sup> enter Port Loko town. He would only spend some time in his sacred forest near the town where the Alikali would meet him with all the wharf dues he had collected. The defeat of Konkori by Moriba Kindo was therefore, a victory for Bai Forki Bathpolon himself, for at long last, he had got rid of a tyrant who had deprived him of his prestige and economic benefits.

To crown it all, it was established in their constitution that all the Alikalis should be selected by the Bai Forkis from among the members of the Ruling House whose turn it would be to produce the Chief, although the ceremonies of the two chiefs were quite different - the Bai Forki, being a Ramena Crown wore a 'YIRMA', while the Alikali, a 'TURBAN', the Muslim Crown. Further, ceremonially, after his installation, the Alikali should proceed to the 'BOROMASARR' to deposit his Chiefly garments.<sup>2</sup> The 'BOROMASARR' is a collection of stones representing all the dead Kings and his most important ceremonial Sub-chiefs. Such collection is normally made under a large cotton tree. He should also deposit the sum of £4.00 in this 'BOROMASARR.' By this gesture, it is believed he had redeemed himself from the Chiefly Devils of the Bai Forki. After this ceremony he would then proceed to the town in his new civilian garments to serve under the

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.417.

2. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.417.

Bai Forki. These were all methods to restore the Bai Forkis' authority over the Alikalis.

Critically analysing the situation it will be noticed that the battle in the overthrow of Konkori was not strictly a Susu/Temne struggle (as is often thought), for political power in Port Loko. But it was the collective efforts of several groups including even some of the Susu, to overthrow the Konkori hegemony. On the one hand, Konkori and some of the Susu especially his own relatives and immediate supporters like probably, some of his Temne in-laws, formed one group. On the other hand, the leader, Moriba Kindo Bangura and his Susu and Temne people; Fatima Brima Kamara, with his Mandinka people at Magbele; the Bundunka Fulas with the relatives at Foredugu in Koya; Pa Brima Karrgbo and some of the Susu whom Konkori had suppressed; and Bai Forki Bathpolon with all his sub-chiefs and their numerous followers, formed another group. The Temne had to cooperate most vehemently because, they were quite disgusted with the repressive administration of Brima Konkori and for the prospect of their gaining the Alikaliship some day, an ambition which they never achieved. A very important point to note is the irony that the rebellion to overthrow the Susu hegemony in Port Loko should be planned, organized and directed by two Susu men - Pa Moriba Kindo Bangura and Pa Brima Karrgbo Sankoh. This shows how people had become disgusted with the Konkori administration. Another important point to note is that in the distribution of power after the overthrow of Konkori, the Temne as a group were not given any post as such. This was probably because of the re-affirmation of the authority of the Bai Forki who was Temne over the whole country. Further, the Temne must have felt

far more secure in the new political arrangements and the ensuring administration of the Banguras and Kamaras of the families of Moriba Kindo and Fatima Brima, respectively, who after all, had had many Temne friends and relations. They simply had to continue to rally round the members of the now established Royal Houses of the Alikaliship, in order to gain some benefits, and perhaps for fear that a reversion of the Alikaliship to the Susu Sankohs might mean a decline in their 'national' prestige. Later, there was so much social integration among the various groups that had formed the coalition against Konkori, that it became very difficult to notice whether any of the succeeding Alikalis were Susu Banguras or Mandinka Kamaras. And by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they were all to be seen and classed as the Temne of Maforki country.<sup>1</sup> So that after all, the Temne became the chief beneficiaries in the governance of Port Loko.

Alikali Moriba Kindo being so willing to serve under Bai Forki Bathpolon, the latter decided to strengthen his position by creating the office of Pa Komrabai (official father of the Chief).<sup>2</sup> This chief should jointly be chosen and crowned by Bai Forki and the Alikali, and handed over to the Alikali to serve under him (the Alikali), as his most powerful sub-chief. But Pa Komrabai would be a peculiar sort of Sub-chief.<sup>3</sup> As his title indicates, he was the

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompore, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

2. Ibid.

3. Oral Traditions - See note 1, above.

official father of the Alikali; that is, he was his chief adviser in all matters, 'political, social, and economic.' If the Komrabai was annoyed, the Alikali would be alarmed. He would act as regent when the Alikali was dead until a new Alikali was installed. It was his duty to ceremonially crown, install him with the authority of the Bai Forki, give him his country, and then serve under him; while he, the Alikali, would serve under the Bai Forki. In fact, the Komrabai, by tradition, owned the country. It would be he who would consult with the Bai Forki in the final choice of the Alikali. All matters of the most crucial nature would be referred to the Komrabai for his advice or ruling.

When the Komrabai Crown was instituted, a Conteh was first crowned, but after his death, it was left in abeyance for a long time. When it was revived, it was given to the Dumbuyas and the Kamaras who had it alternatively - up to the present day. These Kamaras were however, quite different from the Kamaras of the Alikaliship.<sup>1</sup> In all seven Komrabais have been crowned since the inauguration of this Crown.<sup>2</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, this Komrabai Crown became recognized by the Colony Administration, since one of them (spelt Kumrobey in the treaty) put his mark to Treaty No.61 of 1853, of peace and friendship, as one of the Chiefs of Bacca Loko.<sup>3</sup>

Another sub-chief created by Bai Forki Bathpolon to strengthen

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.423.

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2. See Appendix II/for List of Komrabais - Oral Traditions.

3. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1862). Vol.II, p.415. Treaty No.61, May 4, 1853.



the position of the Alikali was the Santigie Aribu, which was given to the Kanu family of Old Port Loko.<sup>1</sup> In the treaties,<sup>2</sup> this Chief is referred to as "Ebiro, Chief of the Kanu family of Old Port Loko," with an annual stipend of 100 bars. During his life time, Bai Forki Bathpolon crowned and installed six Alikalis namely, Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura I, Alikali Faima Brima Kamara I, Alikali Namina Modu I, Alikali Modu I, Alikali Yankuba, and Alikali Saddu Kamara.<sup>3</sup> His overlordship was clearly recognized by Government when he was made a stipendiary King as the "Ground King of Bacca Loko territories."<sup>4</sup>

Bai Forki Bathpolon seems to have died before 1867, for according to Maforki traditions,<sup>5</sup> it was his immediate successor, Bai Forki Fenka that crowned and installed his successor, Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura II that same year (1867). This King was greatly revered by his people for his skill and success in establishing a firm political foundation in Maforki country, which remained largely unshaken up to the 1920s.

To safeguard his position much more firmly than the constitution of Bai Forki Bathpolon provided, Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura appointed his own Bangura relatives as Alimamys and Santigies, and posted them to many strategic positions all over the country.

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.423.

2. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1853-1862) Vol.II, p.415. Treaty No.61, May 4, 1853.  
Vol.III, p.429. Treaty No.67, February 27, 1857.

3. P.C. Alikali Modu III, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom - Document as to the list of rulers of Maforki Chiefdom - Received 12.2.76.

4. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone. (London, 1853-1862) Vol.II, p.341. Treaty No.35, February 13, 1841.

5. See Note 3 above.

He also placed the collection of the wharf dues at Port Loko and other wharves along the Port Loko Creek, in their hands while he himself directly collected the customs revenue from the caravans.<sup>1</sup> The Sankoh leaders, Alimamy Momoh Sankoh and Namina Lahai Sankoh, were recognized by the Colony Government, having been made stipendiary chiefs with annual stipends of 300 bars each.<sup>2</sup>

But Bai Forki Bathpolon had overgraced the Alikaliship, the holder of which office continued to grow stronger in power and in influence. His immediate successor, Bai Forki Fenka,<sup>3</sup> realising this paid a huge sum of money to have the numerous taboos connected with the Bai Forki Crown, reduced, particularly that of seeing the White Man. When he had succeeded, he moved his headquarters from Magbanktha to Port Loko Town so that he could have an eye on the Alikali in order to check his growing influence.<sup>4</sup> He was thus the first Bai Forki to see the sea, salt water, and the White Man. Now, he himself would represent his Kingdom at all important meetings between the Government and his people although the Alikali and some other of the most important sub-chiefs would also be present at such meetings. He himself put his mark to treaties<sup>5</sup> concluded between the Government

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 , p.423 AND  
 A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1853-1862)  
 Vol.II, p.415. Treaty No.61, May 27, 1853.  
 Vol.III, p.429, Treaty No.67, February 27, 1857.

3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 , p. 423.

4. Ibid.

5. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1853-1862)  
 Vol.II, p.415. Treaty No.61, May 4, 1853.  
 Vol.III, p.429. Treaty No.67, Feb. 27, 1857.

and the Temne, for which he would receive an annual stipend of 200 bars.

Port Loko which Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura ruled had become a town of tremendous importance. Maforki traditions say<sup>1</sup> that that town was the first place in the southern Temne country in which Islam was introduced, and this took place before the arrival of the English. This follows that Islam had entered Port Loko before the 1640s when the English began to engage in serious trade in the Port Loko Creek and Rokel River areas. It should be noted that oral traditions cannot be easily dated since the narrators usually do not possess any idea of dates particularly of the remote past. However, the tradition succeeds in illustrating that Islam had entered Port Loko for a very long time although it took another long time before it could have a firm foothold in the southern Temne country. In Port Loko, the traditions continue, neighbouring Temne people would bring their sons to be taught the 'Al Koran', and this helped to increase the population of the town.

The Muslims who came to Port Loko were traders as well, and were very much involved in the caravan trade which passed through this town to Freetown. The slave trade and later, the timber trade and the trade in produce also flourished very highly in this town. By the 1820s, Port Loko had become the most sophisticated and cosmopolitan Temne town, and Brian O'Beirne noted in 1821 that "Port Loko is very populous and is much the resort of strangers, many of whom settled there. The huts in general are tolerably commodious and

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1. Oral Traditions

Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75

substantially built; the inhabitants are remarkably civil, and begin to copy the European dress."

Port Loko appeared to the outsider as the capital of the whole of the Temne country and the Alikali, the ruler of the Temne people; and the Bai Forki was not even known to the European visitors before the mid-nineteenth century. Laing was one of these European visitors making this mistake. Attempting to define the boundaries of Port Loko, he wrote in 1822, that "Alie Karkie claims the ground between Famare's Bai Farma southern boundary, and extending eastward as far as Limba."<sup>1</sup>

After the slave trade had been made illegal in British territories in 1807, the Colony Government began to take a more active interest in the affairs of the neighbouring countries. The aim here was to suppress the slave trade inland and to encourage and promote the 'legitimate trade' in produce. To achieve this goal, they effectively closed the Sierra Leone estuary to the slave traffic, and began to embark on a policy of interfering in the local politics of the peoples. In Maforki, between 1825 and 1900, they were involved in four main issues, namely, the succession to the Alikaliship of Port Loko; negotiations for the restoration of good relationship between them and the Port Loko Chiefs; the ratification of the Port Loko Convention of 1825; and the Hut Tax war of 1898.

In 1825, Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura became very ill, and at the point of death he invited Fatima Brima Kamara who was his lieutenant during the revolt to overthrow Brima Konkori, and gave him

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1. A.G. Laing. Travels in Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa, p.69.



the royal gold ring, and nominated him as his successor.<sup>1</sup> But Fatima Brima's appointment was challenged by Pa Runia Bana, otherwise called Jack Cobby who "seized the crown and quickly crowned himself as the new Alikali."<sup>2</sup> Pa Runia was understood to be a wealthy middle-man resident at Magbele, but of Port Loko origin. His business activities attracted many people in the Port Loko Creek and Rokel River area. His name, 'Runia Bana', has two meanings - 'Runia' in Temne, means 'the world', and 'Bana' means, 'great or big.' Thus 'Runia Bana' means, 'Runia the Great' or 'The Big Runia,' probably denoting greatness in wealth and deeds. Many of the Temne elite, probably backed by Bai Forki Bathpolon, seemed to prefer him, for they strenuously opposed the nomination of Fatima Brima. According to Maforki traditions,<sup>3</sup> Pa Runia was one of the big men who were responsible for the top-level funeral arrangements of the Alikali, in the event of his death. It was during the time the Alikali was seriously ill, that Pa Runia Bana bribed many people including some of the relatives of the dying chief to consider him for the post.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Kemako Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	14.12.75
Pa Alhaji Morlai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

His case was quite easy to accept for he was Temne and it was the Temne that led the fight to gain the control the chiefship of Port Loko - and therefore, they would want a Temne, and not a Mandinka man to succeed Alikali Moriba Kindo. The turban (crown) was secretly put in his custody with the promise that if he did not succeed in securing the Alikaliship, he would have at least, played a leading role in the choice of the successor, and an important sub-chiefship would be created for him.<sup>1</sup> But Pa Runia was far from being interested in any sub-chiefship other than the Alikaliship itself.

On the request of Fatima Brima, who was likely to seek the Colony's interest in the area, Governor Turner proceeded to Port Loko. On arrival, he suppressed Pa Runia and had Fatima Brima Kamara crowned as successor of Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura.

Immediately after this ceremony, Turner concluded a treaty of cession with the new Alikali and his big men including the principal representatives of the various groups in which "they have for themselves, their heirs, and successors, forever ceded, transferred, and given to His Excellency, Charles Turner, C.B..... and his successors the Governors... the full, entire and unlimited right, title, and sovereignty into and over the territories and dominions of Bacca Lokko..."<sup>2</sup> This is the Port Loko treaty of December 12, 1825. The signatories to this treaty on the part of the natives were, Karemu, Senior and Chief of the Barra family and Santigie his younger brother, for the Temne community; Namina Lahai and Brima Keyelle, head of the

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1. Oral Traditions - See Notes 1 & 2, p.429.

2. A. Montagu. The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1853) Vol.II, p.299. Treaty No.15, December 12, 1825.

Sankoh family for the Sendugu Section; all of whom are described in the treaty as "the lawful proprietors and possessors of Bacca Lokko territories."<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that no Loko man signed this treaty despite the fact that they had long enjoyed the co-ownership of the country with the Temne. Instead, it was the descendants of the ousted Susu rulers that were included in the treaty as among the proprietors and possessors of the ceded area. This was probably because, by that time, the Loko had already been overshadowed by the Temne. Further, the new Alikali, Fatima Brima and his overlord, Bai Forki Bathpolon, were not among the signatories. Fatima Brima only signed as one of the witnesses. This is a pointer to the fact of his being a stranger in the country, having no claim to any land there. This might be one reason accounting for the Temne opposition to his nomination as successor of Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura. As regards Bai Forki Bathpolon, the absence of his signature from such an important document, helps to buttress the point of his being only represented by his important sub-chiefs - and in this case, probably by Karemu, who signed for the Barra family of which Bai Forki Bathpolon was a member.

In defending his action for concluding this treaty, Turner, in a memorandum to the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst, set out his reasons<sup>2</sup> - namely, to end the slave trade and internal wars; to ensure security and stability to persons and property; and to encourage the

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1. See Note 1, p.430.

2. PRO.C0267/66. Turner to Bathurst, December 20, 1825.

Chiefs to become industrious; to lead the natives to civilization, morality, and the desire for education and respectful knowledge; to spread "our language and religion"; to extend the "sphere of our mercantile transactions"; to increase geographical knowledge so essential for enlarging outlets for manufactured goods and to supply raw materials; and to spread knowledge of "our wealth, influence and greatness." From this, it can be realised that the main aim for the conclusion of the treaty was trade.

Turner however, wished to extend his annexations to embrace the whole of the coastal strip from Goree to Cape Mount, and begged the Secretary of State to the effect.<sup>1</sup> Anticipating that the Secretary of State would reject large scale acquisition of territories on grounds of administrative expenditure, Turner indicated in the treaty that the "Headmen and inhabitants of the said Bacca Lokko and all the persons residing therein are hereby enjoined to govern themselves accordingly",<sup>2</sup> and that "Should any chief ever prove refractory, he is put down immediately by furnishing his rival with a few nosquets and ammunition, the supply being exclusively in our hands."<sup>3</sup>

But Turner was no longer present to see the terms of his treaty executed, for he died shortly after his return to Freetown. However, Colonial Office which had not authorized Turner to make such large acquisitions of territories, repudiated the treaty. His successor,

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.157.

2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1853) Vol.II, p.299. Treaty No.5 of December 12, 1825.

3. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.157.



Neil Campbell went to Port Loko in December 22, 1826 to witness Fatima Brima's "second coronation of this good Chief,"<sup>1</sup> who had already begun to build a country house for him at Port Loko, during which time he confirmed Turner's treaty, a copy of which was handed to the new Alikali. But the treaty still remained unratified, for Colonial Office was still steadily opposed to the extension of administrative and financial responsibilities inland. In this regard, Neil Campbell was deliberately disobeying orders<sup>2</sup> for his own personal glory. The Governor's entourage included men to whose tune the Government would sing. These were Kenneth Macaulay and John McCormack. Kenneth Macaulay was second cousin of Zachary Macaulay, an early governor of the Settlement from 1794 to 1797,<sup>3</sup> a representative of "Macaulay and Bahington" trading company, with a great deal of influence over the Colony Administration. John McCormack was also an influential personality in Government circles as the most popular Timber trade magnate, which he started in 1816.<sup>4</sup> Both men had prosperous business enterprises at the Port Loko Creek and the Rokel River areas. Their action was therefore, not a disinterested one; and for Kenneth Macaulay in particular, he and Fatima Brima were good friends through Tikla Modu, his business agent at Magbele<sup>5</sup> - who was Fatima Brima's brother. The other men were William Ross and Dala Modu. They were bound to support whoever the Government accepted. William

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1. This is the installation ceremony after the period of confinement in the 'KANTHA', which could last for a year, or even more.
  2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.157.
  3. A.B.C. Sibthorpe: The History of Sierra Leone, p.225.
  4. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p.125-6.
  5. Ibid., p.96.

Ross, in addition to his being a member of the Council, was also an army officer. Dala Modu had, in 1806, been driven from the Colony having been suspected of taking part in the slave trade.<sup>1</sup> He then crossed to the Bulom Shore where he became a prosperous man. In later years, he became very friendly with the Government who would use him on matters of negotiations between the Government and the native Chiefs. As for the detachment of the Royal African Corps, which also accompanied the Governor, it was present as a demonstration of British prestige and power, to be used to apply force when necessary. That is, all these elements must strive to support the man the Government would like to be crowned. Thus although Fatima Brima, by a previous local agreement had been nominated successor, but for the intervention of the Administration in his favour, the chances of his succeeding to the Alikaliship would have been quite remote.

Throughout their account of the politics of Port Loko, Lawson and Parkes seem to present the whole situation as if the right to select and crown the Alikali was the undisputed right of the Governors of Freetown.<sup>2</sup> The Governors never chose a candidate as such, although

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1. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.157.

2. The Governors during whose administration the Colony was involved in the election of the Alikalis of Port Loko from 1825 to 1898 (with their corresponding Alikalis) were,  
 (a) General Charles Turner (1825) - Alikali Fatima Brima I (1825-1840) - a Kamara.  
 (b) Sir Neil Campbell (1826) - ditto  
 (c) John Jeremie (1841) - Alikali Namina Modu I (1841-1851) - a Bangura.  
 (d) Captain Arthur Kennedy (1852) - Alikali Modu I (1852-1854) - a Kamara  
 (e) John Stephen Hill (1857) - Alikali Yankuba (1857-1862) a Bangura.  
 (f) Major Blackhall (1863) - Alikali Saddu (1863-1867) - a Kamara.  
 (g) Colonel G.N. Yonge (1867) - Alikali Kindo (1867-1872) - a Bangura.  
 (h) Pope Hennessy (1872) - Alikali Sheku (1872-1885) - a Kamara.  
 (i) Sir Samuel Rowe (1885) - Alikali Mariba II (1885-1898) - a Bangura.

they would secretly support one person as against the other, and in consequence, would interfere. Such choice had always been made by the people themselves, and it would be they who would request the Governor to recognise the chosen as the new Alikali, but it would be they themselves who would hand him over to the Bai Forki, the overlord, to be ceremonially crowned and installed. But even in their intervention, the Colony authorities were always guided by the principle of the rotational crowning which had become established with the installation of Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara in 1825; for they, the Colony authorities, were always convinced that the Temne would always choose the new chief from the Ruling House whose turn it would be to produce the successor and who would enhance the Colony's trade. Newbury has pointed out, in commenting on Lord Bathurst's approval in 1825 of the policy of distributing presents and stipends (excluding arms), and the practice of withholding them from Chiefs who fell from favour, that "Governor Turner carried this policy a stage further by intervening at Port Loko to settle dispute on behalf of a Temne Chief who would assist the Colony's trade - a precedent followed by Governors Jeremie and Kennedy in 1841 and 1853."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the trade potential, the treaty gave the British Crown sovereignty over Port Loko. Had it been ratified it would have made that territory part of the Colony. This was something the Chiefs who assented to the treaty would not have understood. To them, the treaty was merely a means of extracting

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1. C.W. Newbury: British Policy Towards West Africa. Select Documents. 1786-1874 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965), p.242.

benefits from the Colony Government. This was the same feeling Nemgbana of Koya and his sub-chiefs <sup>had</sup> in assenting to the treaty of 1788<sup>1</sup> with the Sierra Leone Company, in which they gave up sovereignty without realizing that they had done so. In fact, had the British Government in London been more aggressive in the 1820s, and interested in annexing territory, they would have had no confrontation with the natives in this endeavour, as in the case of Koya between the 1840s to the 1860s.

The assumption of the Chiefship of Port Loko by Fatima Brima, ushered in the reign of a man who for fourteen years, clearly dominated the politics of not only Port Loko, but also the whole of the Rokel region. He was depicted<sup>2</sup> as shrewd, militant, unassuming, but patriotic, ambitious and progressive in all his dealings. These qualities made him <sup>to</sup> be regarded as the most important Temne ruler of his day, and the Temne people were right to consider him a man well disposed towards the Colony, and a very personal friend of the Governor of Sierra Leone who relied heavily upon him to keep the roads to the northern territories through Port Loko, clear and safe - a task which he had to perform as a fulfilment of his promise during his campaign for the Alikaliship. He was treated by the Administration, as the Chief of all the Temne people, an honour which he himself ostensibly assumed; and

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1. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1856) Vol.II: Treaty No.1 of August 22, 1788.

2. Oral Traditions

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| Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, | 14.12.75 |
| Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,         | 14.12.75 |
| Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,        | 14.12.75 |



his town, Port Loko, with its six thousand inhabitants,<sup>1</sup> as the capital of the whole of the Temne country. This fact is illustrated by the various treaties<sup>2</sup> of peace, friendship and protection concluded during his reign, between the British Government and the Temne Chiefs. In these treaties, the Alikali is described as "Chief of the Timanee people", who should receive an annual stipend of 600 bars. The other Chiefs of Port Loko got far less than the Alikali. For instance, Momo Sankoh, Namina Lahai, Bai Simra, and Bai Koblo all got 300 bars each.<sup>3</sup> By these same treaties, his overlord or King, the Bai Forki only got 200 bars annually,<sup>4</sup> although he would receive large portions of the Alikali's stipend and those of the other Chiefs of Port Loko.<sup>5</sup> Later Alikalis enjoyed the same honour and recognition from the British Government.<sup>6</sup>

Within the next two to three decades, Port Loko was to become an important meeting place for the negotiation of treaties between the Government and the Temne Chiefs; the other town being Magbele, the most important port in the Marampa country. To make Port Loko much more important, Government established a Frontier Police Station in it when this force was inaugurated in 1890;<sup>7</sup> and the town was able to maintain

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1. PRO.C0267/163. Jeremie to Russell, March 4, 1841.
  2. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1788-1862) Vol.II, p.329. Treaty No.23, April 16, 1836.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 above.
  6. A. Montagu: The Ordinances of Sierra Leone (London, 1857-1876) Vol.III, p.429. Treaty No.67; February 27, 1857.
  7. N.H. Etheridge. The Sierra Leone Frontier Police. Map supplied.

its unique position throughout the nineteenth century for which the Temne people themselves would refer to it as "the Black Man's London."<sup>1</sup>

Quite aware of his unpopularity Alikali Fatima Brima's first move was directed towards gaining the full support of the Temne and the traders at Port Loko, as he realised that it was these people who were most influential and powerful, and any combined opposition they might stage against him might make him lose his position. In the case of the Temne, he tried to win the love of Bai Forki Bathpolon by undergoing enormous expenses to remove the 'KOTH0' put on the crown by the Susu.<sup>2</sup> Although this 'KOTH0' had been removed by the first Bai Forki, Bai Forki Pa Makasi, there was a doubt as to whether the ceremonies were properly performed. This was because, Bai Forki's Pinkineh and Sonkoi I had short reigns, and were in fact not forceful rulers; and the elders of Maforki were quite worried about this 'KOTH0'. For the security of the crown therefore, this 'kotho' must be lifted once and for all. Bai Forki Bathpolon thus became interested in the affairs of a man who fought and brought salvation to the crown of his own Barra family, and this meant complete support from

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom	7.12.75
Pa Alhaji Alima, y Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13.1.76
Pa Bai Mange Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom,	13. 1.76
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom,	31. 1.76
Pa Mustapha Kargbo, Mabilla Koya Chiefdom,	20. 2.76
Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,	23. 2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,	23. 2.76
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom,	22. 3.76
Mr. Ernest S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,	20. 3.76
Pa Alhaji Noah Sesay, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom,	23. 3.76
Pa Kaprrr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,	9. 1.76
Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch.	7. 4.76

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	7.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31. 75

the Temne for Alikali Fatima Brima. The traditions attribute the longevity of the reign of Bai Forki Bathpolon to this removal of the 'KOTH0.' He would withhold nothing from Bai Forki Bathpolon but would pay huge sums from the wharf dues, and even a large part of his own annual stipend.

Alikali Fatima Brima won the support of the Krio traders in Port Loko by rebuilding the town,<sup>1</sup> and this was most probably done at the suggestion of the mercantile establishment. These developments included also the expansion of the wharf where the traders had settled and built factories. He did not seem to support Islam, his own religion as against Christianity, but seemed to have treated members of both religions equally. He received missionaries and allowed them to open a station at Port Loko, regardless of even the vigorous objection of his fanatical Muslim subjects. For instance, Namina Lahai, one of the most prominent leaders of the Sankohs of Sendugu section of Port Loko, was reported to have remarked when the missionaries arrived at Port Loko that "This was always the way with white men; they first sent quiet people to do them the local people good, then merchants, then as their numbers increased, they built forts and brought guns, and at last, took away your country."<sup>2</sup> This was the Church Missionary Society which started in that town in 1840 with the Reverend Christian Schlenker, Messrs. N. Denton, W.C. Thomson, and two schoolmasters. The Mission had only started when Alikali Fatima Brima died that same year. It however had to close down ten years

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1. N.G. Frere. "Notes on the History of Port Loko and its Neighbourhood." Sierra Leone Studies (April, 1929), p.63.

2. PRO.C0267/163. Jeremie to Russell. March 4, 1841.

later (in 1850) owing to indifference on the part of the natives<sup>1</sup> but reopened in the 1870s.<sup>2</sup>

Alikali Fatima Brima's marrying many wives was a means of gaining political power and social support.<sup>3</sup> Rankin who visited Port Loko in the 1830s observed that he had eighty wives, the youngest being "a gentle, bashful girl of eleven years of age" of Loko origin,<sup>4</sup> and at his death in 1840, he left forty of his wives alive, as observed by John McCormack.

In his foreign policy, he was well disposed towards Koya, Marampa, Masimra the Scarcies area and Mafonda. In Koya,<sup>5</sup> he was married to the daughter of Momodu Bundu of Foredugu and regent of the country at that time. Momodu Bundu would also give him the dreaded "Koya Keg of Powder" with which he would destroy his enemies at war.

At Magbele which was his original home in Marampa, his large business continued to flourish. But this time, since he was ruler of Port Loko, his business enterprise was conducted by his three sons - Soga, Modu, and Maligie; and his nephew Rabow,<sup>6</sup> whom Rankin calls "Dabu,"<sup>7</sup> and describes him as "a remarkable man," nothing that "His

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1. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.253-4.

2. D.L. Sumner: Education in Sierra Leone (Freetown 1963), p.59.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75

Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 31.12.75

4. F.H. Rankin: The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834 (London 1836) Vol.II, pp.233-51.

5. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 14.12.75

Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4. 2.76

Pa Bassie Bundu. Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4. 2.76

5. Oral Traditions

Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76

Pa Ansumana Conteh, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76

Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76

Pa Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22. 2.76

7. F.H. Rankin: The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834 (London, 1836) Vol.II, pp.233-51.



intellectual ascendancy and influence are everywhere acknowledged; distant nations, even the Foulas, respect his decisions. Pa Suba /The important sub-chief of Bai Koblo Sankolo, at Magbele/, I discovered to be a mere instrument of his guiding."<sup>1</sup>

In Masimra, he supported the Temne in their wars with the Loko in 1828 to 1831 in which the latter were utterly defeated. In this war, many Loko were killed and many more fled to neighbouring countries. Those who remained surrendered and were allowed to remain in Masimra.

In the Scarcies area, he supported Lamina Bamoi against Alimamy Satta Lahai I of Rolaya, in their local wars of the 1830s to the 1840s. This was because, Sattan Lahai was thought to be a relative of Brima Konkori whose death was thought Lahai might avenge. Further, by taking such part in these wars, he meant to open the trade route to the north in order to please the Colony Government to whom he owed his crown, and also for the prosperity of Port Loko. .

In Mafonda,<sup>2</sup> Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara supported the Temne in their wars against the Loko in the 1830s to the 1840s for the control of that territory. This war did not end when he died in 1840, and suddenly ended his foreign policy.

Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara was a very powerful ruler indeed. He dominated the politics and trade of the whole of the Sierra Leone and Rokel Rivers and of course, of the Port Loko Creek. His power, authority, and influence extended as far afield as the Scarcies areas.<sup>3</sup> He was indeed, the "Napoleon" of the Temne in the first half of the nineteenth century, and he acquired this recognition through his wars and diplomacy. Rankin writes of him as "by conquest and diplomacy..."

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1. See No.7 p.440.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

3. Ibid.

he acquired fame and enlarged his dominion."<sup>1</sup> During his reign, Port Loko had risen to the height of its prosperity which could be accounted for mainly by its trade which he helped to promote.

The years following the death of Alikali Fatima Brima Kamara were a period of economic decline in Port Loko. This situation was caused not by events within Port Loko itself, but by external factors. The continuous wars between the Temne and the Susu on the Scarcies countries had begun to affect the trade of the northern rivers, for which the Colony Government had to send Major Laing in 1822 to negotiate peace settlements.<sup>2</sup> The peace which was promised lasted only for a short time, and the wars continued, although fought only intermittently. So that there was already bitterness among the northern peoples throughout the reign of Alikali Fatima Brima in Port Loko. When he died in 1840, and after 1841, the Susu and Limba on the north-east now re-commenced their wars which drew in the Temne and Susu of Port Loko as well. The chaos which these wars created produced a slump in trade in Port Loko, as traders began to move and settle at Magbele and Rokel on the Rokel River area, which was comparatively more peaceful and conducive to trade. The caravans also began to divert to Kambia and Magbele. The immediate consequence of this diversion was that by the second half/<sup>of</sup>the nineteenth century, Magbele and Rokel had clearly superseded Port Loko in commerce and its resultant Colony interest. This was the period the rulers of Magbele, the Bai Subas, began to rise in fame. But in the 1850s, the timber trade was also replaced

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1. F.H. Rankin: The White Man's Grave: A visit to Sierra Leone in 1834 (London, 1836), pp.233-251.

2. A.G. Laing: Travels in the Timanee, Kocranko and Soolima Countries of Western Africa, p.4.

eventually by the trade in palm oil and palm kernels, which meant a permanent shift of economic interest south to the palm belt.<sup>1</sup> Thus during the 1850s to the 1860s the economy of the whole Rokel area had been seriously shattered, and this situation was to continue up to the 1870s. The Temne of Maforki were now badly disunited, socially and economically. The only remaining uniting force was to prevent the Alikaliship from going to the Sankohs, but to retain it among themselves.

For the next 20 or more years after the death of Alikali Fatima Brima, Port Loko was ruled by three successive Alikalis - Alikali Namina Modu I (1841-1851); Alikali Modu I (1852-1854); and Alikali Yankuba (1857-1862).<sup>2</sup> Alikali Modu I's period of two years of service was too short and he was too ill to engage in any active administration. When he died in 1854, no successor was crowned until 1857. During this interregnum of three years, Port Loko had no centralized authority. The other two sub-chiefs of Bai Forki Bathpolon - Pa Komrabai and Pa Santigie Rabo (Eribo- in the treaties) attempted to rule jointly but were not forceful enough to control such a cosmopolitan town. Bai Forki Bathpolon himself described as the "Ground and Head King of Port Loko territories"<sup>3</sup> was too weak, owing to old age. He was thus powerless to control his turbulent sub-chiefs who would only use his name to achieve their desires, but would not

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, pp.186 & 301.

2. Document as to list of rulers of Port Loko - Submitted in typescript, by Ex-Paramount Chief Alikali Modu III, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom - Received, 12.2.76.

3. A Bedor Bangura; Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom - Document "Memo for the Information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief Relative to Port Loko or Bake Lokko from Early Date - Recd. 12.2.76.

even pay him his annual presents, wharf dues, and tributes. On the whole, this period was comparatively peaceful for most of the time except for the completion of the wars of Sattan Lahai II of Rowula in the Scarcies area, and the minor rivalries of the Susus to regain their Alimamiship, which was put down by the coronation of Alikali Yankuba in 1857.

In 1863, Alikali Saddu Kamara was crowned by Bai Forki-Bathpolon, to succeed Alikali Yankuba who had died in 1862. Bai Forki Bathpolon himself died almost immediately after the installation of Alikali Saddu, and was succeeded by Bai Forki Fenka. Both the coronation and installation of Alikali Saddu Kamara and that of Bai Forki Fenka were witnessed by officials from the Colony.

Alikali Saddu Kamara died in 1867 and was succeeded by Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura II. As in the case of his predecessor, his rule was also peaceful.<sup>1</sup> The end of his administration saw the final settlement of the dispute between the Temne and the Susu of Port Loko. This was the conclusion of Treaty No.6 of February 26, 1872, by which Binneh Sankoh, an important member of the Susu Sankoh family, was allowed to return to Port Loko. This man had taken refuge to the Susu Country owing to the political confusion against his Sankoh family. Alikali Moriba Kindo Bangura II died in December 1872.

Alikali Moriba Kindo II was succeeded by Alikali Sheku Kamara who was a weakling and as such, was completely dominated by his sub-chiefs who ruled their different principalities without reference to him, and

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1. A Bedor Bangura; Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom - Document "Memo for the Information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief Relative to Port Loko or Bake Lokko from Early Date - Recd. 12.2.76.



would rather prefer dealing directly with Bai Forki Fenka.<sup>1</sup> His fourteen years rule (1872-1886) did not therefore, bring him any benefit. But the reason to this weakness can be attributed partly to the presence of Bai Forki Fenka in Port Loko at that time. For according to Maforki traditions,<sup>2</sup> this was the Bai Forki who having paid a huge sum of money to the ceremonial chiefs to remove the many taboos, removed his headquarters from Magbaktha, the ceremonial town of the Bai Forkis, to Port Loko. There he himself assumed most of the important activities of the Alikali such as representing his people at all important occasions with the Colony authorities, and supervising the collection of the wharf dues and rents. In addition to his own stipend of 200 bars, as "Ground King of Port Loko territories", Alikali Sheku Kamara and the other Chiefs, would, by custom, give him a large portion of their own stipends. It was thus difficult for Alikali Sheku Kamara to make any impact on the affairs of Port Loko in the presence of his superior who had dominated the scene.

But the general pacific atmosphere which pervaded over Port Loko during this period can also be attributed to other factors. In addition to the deaths of most of the characters who had been involved in the dramas of action affecting the area before the 1870s, the centre of gravity in the southern Temne country was no longer Port Loko, but Magbele and Rokel on the Rokel River, where the trade activities had

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.441.

2. Ibid.

now shifted with its complicated local politics, trade wars, and the accompanying Colony interest.

When Alikali Sheku Kamara died in 1886, Alikali Moriba Bangura II was crowned. His period of reign was full of unrest, for three external events occurred which set his country in motion. The Sofas, who were devastating the north of Sierra Leone were advancing south-westwards, and had already reached northern Gbambali country and the Scarcies areas. Large numbers of refugees from the neighbouring countries of Mange, Romende, Tinkatopa, Makama, Dibia, and Safroko countries were pouring into Port Loko and created a tense atmosphere. The situation became more desperate when it was rumoured that the Sofas were contemplating on invading Port Loko itself, and the scare this rumour created continued in the minds of the whole people until the early 1890s. The second event was the Yoni Expedition of 1887. In this Expedition, Bai Forki Fenka was suspected to be secretly supporting the Yoni, and one of his most important sub-chiefs, Bai M'Salmamsa, openly. The latter was arrested, imprisoned in Freetown gaol, and his stipend suspended and it was only re-instated in 1890. The third disquieting situation was the events of the Hut Tax War. This event will be briefly discussed in a later part of this chapter. During this event, this Alikali and his overlord, Bai Forki Fenka, who was already an old man, were deeply involved, and their involvement constituted a very important theme in the history of early Colonial occupation of the Sierra Leone hinterland.

From the 1870s to the early 1890s, the British Government decided to ratify certain Conventions. The reasons were purely economic and political - to promote trade and to acquire the necessary sovereignty over the areas. Port Loko fell within the region along the Coastal strip which the British Government desired to annex during this period. On the part of the British therefore, the ratification of the dormant Port Loko Convention of 1825 was desirable. The Freetown traders and the natives themselves desired this move - the traders because it would ensure the protection of their trade and freedom from molestation from the natives. On the part of the natives (and the Chiefs for that matter), it was a good move because, they would be stipendiaries and the prosperity of the trade was their prosperity as well, since they would be the beneficiaries as the chief middlemen and landlords, and would provide the necessary labour force for the production and transportation of the produce for the new trade. Further, by the ratification of the Convention, the Chiefs' relationship with the Government would be strengthened. But the Freetown Government was still cautious in taking any move towards including the Port Loko area in the proposed sphere of influence as they did not want to provoke any unpleasantness with the Chiefs at that moment. And so, the ratification of the Convention had to await until they were sure of the friendly attitude of the Port Loko people towards the Colony authorities, which was to come during the early years of the 1890s

The Port Loko people opened the last decade of the nineteenth century with negotiations to normalize their relations with the Colony Government, which had been strained by the events of the Yoni

Expeditions of 1887. Although at the meeting at Mamaligie in the Masimra country on December 16, 1887 to elect a principal Chief for Yoni, 8 Port Loko Chiefs attended and supported the Government, yet these Chiefs remained suspects and in fact, Bai Forki Fenka was threatened with deposition, while Pa Bai M'Salmansa was arrested, and temporarily detained in a Freetown gaol. When he was released, he was constantly surveillanced by Captain Lendy, the Officer in charge of the detachment at Robari, was not allowed to move out of Port Loko, and his stipend stopped.

In Port Loko itself, there were petty disputes between Bai Forki Fenka and his principal sub-chief, Alikali Moriba II,<sup>2</sup> which drew in other Chiefs in support of either side.<sup>3</sup> These heads however, had some physical handicaps. While Bai Forki Fenka was now feeble owing to old age, Alikali Moriba II was old, ill and paralysed. There was, as a result, much scheming for the Acting Alikaliship, during which time the most prominent candidates were Sorie Bunki and Bockari Bamp. The latter was finally appointed, to the great annoyance of the former; and the animosity which the contest created between the two men continued on to 1898.

In March 1890, the Port Loko people invited Governor Hay to settle their numerous palavers.<sup>4</sup> In the settlement of these palavers between

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1. PRO.CO267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 54, 2.3.90.

2. PRO.CO267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 99, 13.3.90.

3. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompera, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	4.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

4. PRO.CO267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 99, 13.3.90.



Bai Forki Fenka and Alikali Moriba II, the Governor noted that Port Loko was under the dual control of two rulers - the Bai Forki and the Alikali. The quarrel was formented by one Kei Kroo who wanted to gain his own ends by becoming Chief in Port Loko. But as the matter was very long and complicated, Hay advised them to settle it amicably with the help of Bai Suba An Pessor of Magbele whom he had requested to accompany him so that by his tact and wisdom, he could help to restore peace among the Chiefs. The success of this meeting led to another.

The following day, the elders of Port Loko, led by Alikali Moriba II and Pa Alie Follah, formed a delegation to the Governor to plead on behalf of Pa Bai M'Salmansa.<sup>1</sup> They presented the letter of plea, written in Arabic,<sup>2</sup> to the Governor stating that Pa Bai M'Salmansa was now sorry for his past conduct "in the Yoni Expedition."<sup>3</sup> Pa Bai M'Salmansa was himself brought before the Governor to whom he apologised. On condition that Bai Suba An Pessor and Alikali Moriba II should besureties for his future behaviour, he was pardoned and his stipend which had been written off since February 1888, was reinstated with effect from February, 1890.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Pa Bai M'Salmansa was once more a free man and a stipendiary of the Government.

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p. 448

2. PRO.CO/267/381. Enclosure in Hay to Knutsford, 101, 13.9.90. Translation of a letter in Arabic from the Alikali of Port Loko to Hay.

3. PRO.CO267/381. Enclosure in Hay to Knutsford; 101, 13.9.90. - Translation of a letter in Arabic from the Alikali of Port Loko to Hay.

4. P.P. The Yoni Expedition. Despatch No.58. Enclosure No.5, PT.III, 21.12.87.

The Governor thus left Port Loko with the satisfaction that he had been able to restore peace among the people, and the people themselves, in turn, were now convinced that there was once more good relations between them and the Government. To crown this, on July 7 1890, they sent a delegation of Chiefs led by Alikali Moriba II with a letter written in Arabic, to pledge their loyalty to Governor Hay.<sup>1</sup> The letter was written by the Port Loko Chiefs on behalf of "all the Timanee countries."<sup>2</sup> This is unlikely to be true as no available evidence of this can be found. It may mean only the Temne Kings in the countries lying towards the Scarcies areas, as Major Crooks later noted that the Alikali's "influence extends for about 79 miles interior-wards on the Port Loko Falaba route along which the caravans from the up country passed to Freetown."<sup>3</sup> This is sufficient evidence of the power of the Port Loko rulers during the nineteenth century, and Maforki traditions as a matter of fact, say<sup>4</sup> most of the prominent people in that chiefdom came from Ro-Bureh or Scarcies Countries.

The Government, having been sure of the wholesome attitude of the Port Loko people towards them, now began to make proposals in 1893, for the ratification of the 1825 Port Loko Convention which had left the question of sovereignty unaffected. In order to obtain this

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75

2. PRO.C0267/383. Enclosure in Hay to Knutsford; 306, 9.7.90.

3. PRO.C0267/402. Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 232, 13.7.93.

4. Oral Traditions

Pa Alimamy Alhaji Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 4.12.75  
 Pa Alhaji Kemoko Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 4.12.75  
 Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 4.12.75  
 Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 Pa Alpha A. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 7.12.75  
 Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom, 31.12.75.

sovereignty, it was quite necessary for Governor Fleming to revive this dormant treaty of 1825. In a memorandum dated February 11, 1892, J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs,<sup>1</sup> gave his reasons for the ratification of the Convention - to promote trade, to protect missionary work, generate peace, and to assert Government authority in the area. As regards expenditure, Parkes maintained,

"As regards expenditure and responsibility, there can hardly be any assumption of control without corresponding assumption of responsibility and necessary expenditure, but in this case, we are both already, without that control which we ought to have. We maintain Police at Port Loko, we intervene and settle their quarrels at public cost, we spend money on visits to see into and adjust their affairs and in doing all this we really have no authority on which to base our interference excepting the desirability of doing so in the interest of the country and desire of acceptance of the people of it." 2

Parkes' memorandum has revealed many facts about the history of Port Loko during the nineteenth century - viz., the trade route through that country; the local quarrels among the Chiefs; the presence of the large number of Colony traders; the establishment of the Church Missionary Society; the settlement of the disputes by the Government; the establishment of the Police Station there; and the Government continued expenditure in these aspects. On account of these issues, Government needed to assert its authority by ratifying the 1825 Convention, and this would give them the very much needed sovereignty over the Port Loko territory. Because of the moribund condition of the Alikali, Moriba II,<sup>3</sup> Parkes advised that the ratification should

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1. PRO.C0267/400. Enclosure No.3, in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.92 - Parkes' Memorandum to Colonial Secretary.

2. Ibid.

3. P.C. Alikali Modu II, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom. Document, received 12.2.76.

be done without delay.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the method by which it could be done, Parkes suggested that the best procedure would be by proclamation since it would be difficult to have the Chiefs to sign more treaties owing to the recent action of the Frontier Police whom they complained of having seduced their wives and daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Governor Fleming accepted Parkes' arguments, but added that if Port Loko were not formally taken by ratifying the Convention, other Powers might occupy the territory. He thus clearly put it to the Colonial Secretary that "If we wish this Colony to prosper, if we desire our trade and commerce to increase we should, I venture to think, take such steps as will prevent other European Powers from obtaining hereafter what is comparatively, easy for us today."<sup>3</sup> To this observation, Hemming, in a minute to Bramston (both officers in the Colonial Office), retorted that, "The French cannot, under the agreement of 1889 interfere in this district, and as the whole country is occupied by them and us, what other powers could step in?"<sup>4</sup> Hemming's submission in this can be regarded as cogent in that by the Anglo-French agreement of 1889, the two powers had already delimited their respective spheres of influence, and that neither Germany nor any other European Power, had seriously competed for possessions in West Africa. So that Parkes' arguments for the ratification of the Port

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1. PRO.CO267/400. Enclosure No.3, in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93 - Parkes' Memorandum to Colonial Secretary.
  2. PRO.CO267/400. Enclosure No.1, in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; Translation of a letter in Arabic, by the Chiefs.
  3. PRO.CO267/400. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93.
  4. PRO.CO267/400. Minute - Hemming to Bramston; 45, 8.4.93.



Loko Convention of 1825 remained cogent.

The Colonial Office approved of the proposals for the ratification of the Convention, but strongly instructed the Governor to make it quite clear to "the Chiefs that their authority and native customs will not be interfered with, beyond what may be necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, and to prevent traffic in slaves."<sup>1</sup>

Armed with this authority, Fleming proceeded with the mechanics of the ratification of the Convention. His first step was to invite the Port Loko Chiefs to Freetown to seek their consent.<sup>2</sup> Led by Bockari Bamp the Acting Alikali, the Chiefs repudiated<sup>3</sup> any desire for ratification and of course, any assumption of British control over their territory,<sup>4</sup> but wished it could continue to be part of the British sphere of influence without any political control whatever.<sup>5</sup> Thus Parkes' fears became a reality - that is, the Chiefs rejected the proposals for the ratification of the 1825 Convention.

The second step Fleming took was to annex the territory. In this regard, he consulted the advice of the Queen's Advocate who concoured with Parkes' submission that a Proclamation would be the only advisable method;<sup>6</sup> and this was also the opinion of the Executive

1. PRO.CO267/400. The Marquis of Ripon to Fleming; 76, 8.4.93.

2. PRO.CO267/400. Fleming to the Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93.

3. Ibid.

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 6, p.77.

5. PRO.CO267/400. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93.

6. PRO.CO267/402. Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 232, 13.7.93.

Council. The legal argument was that the Chiefs had already handed over in 1825, power over the territory; but this hand-over was still in abeyance, as it had never been formally been ratified. So, all that was necessary was to ratify it and there was no need for a fresh treaty.

When Fleming went on leave, his successor, Major J.J. Crooks as Administrator, took up the matter once more with the Executive Council which endorsed the idea of a proclamation, and this was subsequently approved by the Secretary of State.<sup>1</sup> On July 10, 1893, Major Crooks proceeded to Port Loko by the Colonial Steamer, "Countess of Derby." He was accompanied by the Acting Chief Justice Mr. McCarthy; J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs; and an escort of a company of 100 men of the 1st West India Regiment with six field guns which he obtained from the Officer Commanding the Troops, Captain A.C. Way.<sup>2</sup> Crooks met with the people who numbered over "2000 besides travelling traders,"<sup>3</sup> at the Muslim Ramadan Prayer Field called "SELKEKEH."<sup>4</sup> Here, after he had introduced the subject of his visit, he read the Proclamation, hoisted the Union Jack and put the troops to parade. After this, he invited the Chiefs and distributed presents to them. He finally paid a visit to the Alikali Moriba II who was ill and gave him his own presents.<sup>5</sup> In this way, the 1825 Port Loko Convention was

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1. PRO.CO267/402. Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 232, 13.7.93.
  2. PRO.CO267/400. Enclosure No.1, in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93.
  3. PRO.CO267/400. Enclosure No.2, in Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 45, 11.2.93. Memorandum by The Queen's Advocate to Colonial Secy.
  4. Oral Traditions - See Note 6, p.77, AND Note 3, above.
  5. PRO.CO267/400. The Marquis of Ripon to Crooks; 173, 13.7.93.

ratified and British authority asserted over that country in 1893.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that although the Chiefs had earlier rejected the proposals for the ratification of the Convention, the meeting was conducted without any opposition. Two reasons may account for this. Firstly, the place chosen for the meeting, the 'SELKENEH', was a holy ground for the Muslims and as such, they might not feel inclined to cause any commotion to desecrate its sanctity. Secondly, and more importantly, the demonstration of British Military Power. This was enough to remind the people of the events of the Yoni Expedition of 1887, which left an impression in the minds of all the Southern Temne - that the power of the 'White Man' should be feared. As Crooks himself stated,

"I may take the liberty of remarking here that the conduct of escort on the occasion of my visit was all that could be desired and the effect of the presence of so many soldiers under arms with their field guns was most remarkable. I feel sure that in this part of West Africa where intelligence travels rapidly the fact of my being accompanied with such an escort to Port Lokko in this instance will show how quickly the troops can be moved about when Her Majesty's Government so choose and will materially help to remove in a measure some of the doubts and fears at present entertained as to whether the troops would ever be allowed to leave Headquarters for service in the hinterland." 2

This also meant that the Colony Administration must never hesitate to send troops to put down any disturbance that might threaten British Interest. Whatever explanation given by the Administration the people had to accept the Proclamation and forever, hold their peace, because they were too powerless to resist the British military might. For

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1. P.C. Alikali Modu III, Port Loko. Document, received 12.2.76.

2. PRO.C0267/402. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 232, 13.7.93.

the following three years (1893-1896), the Port Loko Chiefs remained quiet, until 1897 and 1898 in connection with the Hut Tax incident.

The participation of the Port Loko Chiefs in the Hut Tax issue is noteworthy. They were the Southern Temne Chiefs who gave the greatest support to Bai Bureh. When the Protectorate Ordinance was proclaimed in 1896, the Port Loko Chiefs - Bai Forki Fenka and Alikali Moriba II were among the Chiefs who signed the first petition to D.C. Sharpe.<sup>1</sup> The second petition, to the Queen,<sup>2</sup> was signed by eleven Chiefs, and Alikali Moriba II and Bai M'Salmansa were among the signatories. But the climax of their opposition came during the collection of the tax.

On February 5, 1898, Sharpe went to Port Loko to start collecting the tax from the natives as this town was believed to be the largest and most prosperous in his District. Here he was greeted with opposition from the local population including the Krio traders. This opposition steadily developed into some sort of confrontation, for the Port Loko people were quite prepared for war as Bai Bureh was only waiting in one of the neighbouring Chiefdoms to send reinforcement to the Chiefs at the slightest signal. The Chiefs however, employed much delaying tactics and did not start the war at once.

Sharpe's first move at Port Loko during his five days of stay there (5th-10th February 1898) was to adopt diplomatic tactics to get the people to settle the tax question peacefully, by holding a series of meetings. But his efforts were frustrated by a strong rejection of

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1. P.P., 1899, Vol.LX, pp.572-3. Chalmers Report, Pt II.

2. PRO.C0267/434. Enclosure in Cardew to Chamberlain; Conf. 49, 8.12.97.



his plans. But as no other course<sup>was</sup>/left open to him he resorted to threats, arrests and detentions. The Krio traders refused to pay arguing that they were prevented to do so by the Chiefs who threatened them with eviction from the houses they rented, or with a worse treatment. The Chiefs admitted preventing the Krios to pay because, they felt that if they did, they would claim the houses they rented as their own. This suggests that the Krios were genuinely afraid; but Sharpe quickly and rightly so, formed the opinion that both groups were united in opposition against him,<sup>1</sup> because the conduct of both groups during this period was that of unanimity; for after each meeting, they could be seen in friendly conversation, nor could the Krio even show who threatened them.

Since Alikali Moriba, Chief of Port Loko was ill, the Acting Chief, Bockarie Bamp was ordered by Sharpe to start collecting the tax. But this Chief was more anxious to stall direct confrontation and so, employed diplomatic gambit to achieve this end. He maintained that he could not give a direct answer to Sharpe's demand to collect the tax until he had approval from the substantive Chief, Alikali Moriba II who was ill, and confirmation from his overlord Bai Forki Fenka. At this point, Sharpe lost his patience, arrested Bockarie Bamp and after sternly warning him of the serious consequences he would have to face if he failed to cooperate with the Government in collecting the tax, he had him detained. But after two days, he reluctantly released him because of the many reports that the people

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX. Chalmers Report. Appendix II, paragraph 5 3618-23. Evidence by Sharpe.

were assembling to rescue the Chief and that Bai Bureh had been requested to assist them in this move; and further, that the Chief had promised not to hinder the collection of the tax.

This incident was immediately followed by the confrontation between Sharpe and the Krio who adamantly refused to pay. They still maintained that the houses they occupied were not theirs, and could not pay both rent and tax, and that Sharpe should therefore ask the owners to pay; that they feared reprisals from the Temne who were intimidating them against payment of the tax, and that Government had not secured them sufficient safety. The traders continued to defy Sharpe's orders, employing different methods to annoy him - for example, they would refuse to speak English but Aku (Yoruba, their original language) or Mandinka, and their women traders would jeer at Sharpe and his police. Sharpe thus sharply reacted and ordered them to be arrested, charged with refusal to obey Government orders, tried and fined them. When they refused to pay the fines, Sharpe ordered their goods to be detained in the court. But they had removed the valuables, for those carried to the court were mere bundles of worthless rubbish.

The drama between Sharpe and the Chiefs continued the following day. On February 9, 1898, Sharpe made his last attempt for the Chiefs to accept his views. He explained to them that he was tired of waiting and that he could no longer allow any further delay. He therefore asked Bockarie Bamp to answer 'Yes' or 'no' to each of the two questions - "Would Bockarie Bamp let the traders pay?" and "Would he immediately begin to collect the tax in Port Loko?" Bockarie Bamp still wanting to secure the approval of his Chief,

Alikaki Moriba II, and his overlord, Bai Forki Fenka, answered both questions in the negative. Sharpe who did not know of Bai Forki's overlordship immediately ordered the arrest of Bockarie Bamp together with three other sub-chiefs, namely, Bai M'Salmansa, Santigie Keareh, and Ansumana Balli. When Bai Forki Fenka heard the news of the arrest of these men, he came to Port Loko from his sacred town of Magbanktha, and was immediately arrested; but when the people rioted, he was released. He was only later rearrested and convicted without trial, and sent to Freetown gaol.<sup>1</sup> Although the sentence was approved of by the Governor, the Law Officers disallowed it and so, the Chief had to be detained in Freetown by a special Ordinance until his country became quiet. Bockarie Bamp and the other sub-chiefs were brought to trial the same day and convicted under the charges of incitement to disobedience, refusing to collect the tax, and attempting to overawe a public officer in the execution of his duty. Fearing that the people might riot as they had done the previous day when Bai Forki Fenka was arrested, Sharpe ordered the Chiefs to be sent to Freetown gaol.

Sharpe then appointed Sorie Bunki Acting Paramount Chief of Port Loko, with special instructions to collect the tax. This man had all along been campaigning for the Chiefship of Port Loko. In one of these campaigns, he seemed to have been favoured by Bai Forki Fenka, who in 1892, sought permission from the Administration to allow him to include the Sankoh and the Bunki families in the list of eligible houses to the Alikaliship of Port Loko<sup>2</sup> so that this chiefship could no

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1. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.595.

2. SLA/ART, LBC of NALB.313/92, Parkes to Arlikantine of Port Loko.

longer be monopolised by the two ruling houses of the Banguras and Kamaras. But there is no evidence that this permission was ever granted. So during the Hut Tax incident, Sorie Bunki sought this qualification for eligibility from the District Commissioner, Sharpe. The new Chief now demonstrated his loyalty to Sharpe by immediately and enthusiastically beginning to collect the tax. But his appointment was met with ridicule and rebuff from the people who considered him a usurper and a traitor. Besides, he could not achieve much as the town had almost been entirely deserted. Sorie Bunki then developed the new tactics of being a glorified spy and reporter. One of these incidents was when he reported to Sharpe that he had received reliable news that Bai Bureh was contemplating on attacking Port Loko. He realised that an anti-Bai Bureh stance would earn him the continued support of the Government, but the opposition against him continued to mount and fearing the anger of the people he attempted to escape to Freetown but was caught by the supporters of the imprisoned Chiefs and drowned in the Port Loko Creek.<sup>1</sup> While this was happening, news spread out that Alikali Moriba II who had already been ailing, had died at his residence, and this created more tension in Port Loko. Some people say he died of heart attack, owing to the house tax rumpus.<sup>2</sup> The relatives of Sorie Bunki never forgave the Banguras and Kamaras of the Alikali Ruling Houses for the death of their leader.

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1. P.P. 1899, Vol.LX, Chalmers Report, No.3283, Evidence by Sharpe.

2. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75



It should be recalled that the imprisoned Chiefs had long been marked men. Bai Forki Fenka and Pa Bai M'Salmansa had been discredited by the Government for their support of the Yoni during the Yoni Expedition of 1887, for which the latter was pardoned only in 1890. Further, Bai Forki Fenka had defied the orders of the District Commissioner, Sharpe to go to Karene to receive his gold-headed staff of office which was to be his new official insignia, for which refusal he was arrested in 1897 and released only when the people rioted; and he was not re-arrested that year. The Government did not trust the Chiefs who repudiated the proposals to ratify the 1825 Port Loko Convention, in 1893; and Bockarie Bamp was the leader of the move. Apart from their recent anti-tax activities, Government could rightly suspect them for any resistance staged in their country.

Although no attack by Bai Bureh (as reported by Sorie Bunki) ever took place, this news seriously alarmed Sharpe who immediately wrote to the Governor that the situation was serious and that he could not return to Karene until the danger of Bai Bureh's attack on Port Loko was over. He then wrote to Bai Bureh ordering him to collect the tax. Bai Bureh did not receive this letter as the messengers who took it were apparently turned back by Bai Bure's war men. The British forces were so obstructed on the way to Karene that they had to fire on the crowds. This was on February 17, 1898, and this firing marked the beginning of the actual confrontation between the British forces and those of Bai Bureh. By March, martial law was proclaimed in the whole of the Karene District which of course, included the Southern Temne Chiefdoms of Maforki and Marampa. But

this martial law only inflamed the situation. Bai Bureh's forces avoided open confrontation but kept on firing on the British forces from their stockades all along the roads as well as outside the towns. For the first three months, Bai Bureh's forces were so much in control of the situation that before the end of March, the British forces had to retreat, and decided to abandon the Karene garrison altogether. They arrived at this decision after some of their officers had been killed and many of their columns captured. The British forces were also disenchanted by the death of their field officer, Captain Bosworth, of apoplexy.

By April however, the tide turned in favour of the British forces, owing to the appointment of Captain Marshall to succeed Bosworth. Through the brilliant strategy of this officer, Bai Bureh's forces began to retreat. The British Forces finally reached Karene, burning villages and crops all over the area. In this way and within a month of Marshall's control of the battlefield the British forces had suppressed the rebellion in the Karene District, but Bai Bureh still remained uncaptured.

What was the position of Port Loko at the time? It was an area charged with a tense atmosphere. The leading men had been arrested and sent to Freetown gaol, and Alikali Moriba II had died and Sorie Bunki had been killed. There were wild rumours that Bai Bureh's men had captured and killed Captain Sharpe. One Momo Bangura had been killed by a Frontier Police on February 25, 1898,<sup>1</sup> and Major Norris said that this incident precipitated a greater dissatisfaction in Port Loko and brought about the attack on the section of this town by the

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1. PRO.CO267/437. Enclosure No.5 (Report of Major Norris) in Cardew to Chamberlain, 17 March 12, 1898.

Temne on March 5, 1898; but the rebel forces were driven off by the arrival of reinforcements from Freetown. It was not possible to launch another attack on Port Loko as throughout the war, this town became the centre of the Government forces, and also the gate-way through which these forces could pass to and from Karene, the headquarters of the District - and so, became strongly fortified by the Government to prevent any further attack on it. There was no seriously pitched battle in Port Loko itself, and in the entire Maforki Chiefdom between the Government and the rebel forces. The collection of the tax in Port Loko, had to be completed by Sharpe himself, as there was no local responsible Chief to assist him, but *with* of course, no opposition. In his tax returns in 1898, Sharpe reported that Port Loko alone yielded £85 out of a total of £132 collected in Karene District.

The opening of the twentieth century saw a new situation in Port Loko. This was the political reconciliation of its leaders with the Government. As soon as they were released from gaol in 1899, Freetown where they had been for a year, Bockarie Bamp, Bai M'Salmansa, Ansumana Balli, and Santigie Keareh, declared for the Government and became the chief tax collectors.<sup>1</sup> In the case of Bai Forki, the Port Loko Chiefs petitioned for his release in 1901, but this was rejected by the Government.<sup>2</sup> He was released in late 1901, but died that same

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1. Oral Traditions

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bompoto, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alieu B. Sesay. Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75

2. PRO.CO267/458. King-Harman to Secretary of State, 175, 27.5.1901. Enclosing Petition of Port Loko Chiefs for release of Bai Forki.



year.<sup>1</sup> In December 1901, his successor was crowned as Bai Forki Kafaka.<sup>2</sup> This was the Bai Forki<sup>3</sup> who came from his sacred town of Magbanktha to greet Governor King-Harman when he visited Port Loko that year. The new Bai Forki, as a visible sign of loyalty to the Government, brought a huge amount of the House Tax he had collected in his chiefdom. He did not live long and died in 1907.<sup>4</sup> He was succeeded by Bai Forki Sonkoi II who died in 1913.<sup>5</sup> His successor was not called Bai Forki, but Kandeh Balli.<sup>6</sup>

This was a proof that the people were quite able to pay the tax. But the fact remains that from March 1898 to the end of that year, the people of Port Loko had no responsible leader and were left like 'sheep without a shepherd.'

When Alikali Mariba II died in 1898, and after peace had been restored, Bai M'Salmansa of the Kamara Ruling House was crowned in 1899 with the title of Alikali Fatima Brima II.<sup>7</sup> Immediately he assumed office, he crowned as his powerful sub-chiefs or Alimamys Pa Santigie Keareh and Pa Alpha Saddu.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Bockarie Bamp and

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p. 463.

2. Ibid.

3. PRO.CO267/462. King-Harman to Secretary of State, 25, 29.1.1902. Report of Governor's tour of the Protectorate.

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 above.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. A. Bedor Bangura, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom-Documents - "Memo for the Information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief Relative to Port Loko of Bake Loko from early date", Received, 12.2.76.

8. Oral Traditions

Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	14.12.75
Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,	31.12.75.



Ansumana Balli, they patiently awaited for higher rewards, for the former was a member of the Bangura Ruling House, while the latter, a Kanu and prominent nephew of the Bai Forkis.<sup>1</sup>

Alikali Fatima Brima II who was crowned in 1899 to succeed Alikali Momba II, reigned only for three years and seven months when he died in 1902. In October of the same year, Bockarie Bamp was crowned Alikali Namina Modu II. He was the first Alikali to be recognized as full Paramount Chief, and Maforki Chiefdom was divided into two - Maforki Chiefdom under Bai Forki Kafaka who had succeeded Bai Forki Fenka with his capital in Old Port Loko; and Bake Loko Chiefdom under Alikali Namina Modu II, with Port Loko as his capital.<sup>2</sup> Alikali Namina Modu II died in 1919 and was immediately succeeded by Alikali Mode II.<sup>3</sup>

In 1914, the elders of the country decided to reward Pa Ansumana Balli for his good services as Acting Bai Forki on the death of Bai Forki Kafaka.<sup>4</sup> This reward was the Bai Forki Crown, which he accepted. However, being a Kanu and not a Kamara of the Barra family, who were the original owners of the Crown, he did not assume the Bai Forki title, but styled himself as Kandeh Balli. It is believed that if he had done so, that would have been 'KOTHO.' Thus by the turn of the second decade of the twentieth century, the Maforki country had fallen under

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1. Oral Traditions - see Note 8, p.464.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 6, p.77.

the sole control of the men who had led the rebellion against the House Tax. When Backarie Bamp therefore, told his supporters when he was arrested and transported to be gaoled in Freetown for refusing to pay the House Tax in 1898, that they should not fight, "we are fighting for our country,"<sup>1</sup> he was in fact, implying that their resistance was not a disinterested one. They were members of the Ruling families and were all interested in the leadership of their country.

During their term of office, the chiefdoms of Maforki and Port Loko were well thought of by the Government. On this point, Pa Alpha Bedor Bangura has this to say,

"...reign witnessed improvements in the country - good roads, fine bridges, establishment of trading firms, Post Office and military barracks and other attendants of civilization, also a Government Hospital, and a further expansion of the C.M.S. School." 2

To comment on this statement however, it is difficult to believe that there were any good roads or fine bridges in that country during these early years after the 1898 Hut Tax War. The reason for this was that Government had not yet implemented any concrete proposals for the infrastructural development of the new Protectorate until the establishment of the Native Administration system of local government in the 1930s.<sup>3</sup> If there were any 'good roads' and 'fine bridges',

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1. P.P. The Chalmers Report... Sharpe to Colonial Secretary, 12.2.98.
  2. Pa Alpha Bedor Bangura, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom. Document received, 12.2.76.  
Memo. for the Information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, Relative to Port Loko or Bake Loko from early date.
  3. Martin Kilson. Political Change in a West African State. A Study of the modernization on SIERRA LEONE... p.33.

they must have been those locally constructed by the people themselves which cannot be so described in the modern economic terminology.

In the case of the military barracks it is doubtful whether the natives ever received any marked benefits from such establishments in their country, for the real motives for the construction of such establishments were mainly political rather than economic. Port Loko being the first town in the Karene District where D.C. Sharpe met with resistance in the collection of the House Tax,<sup>1</sup> should not be left ungarrisoned after the rebellion - this would have been impolitic on the part of the Government.

The division of the Chiefdom into two, which took place in 1902 with the coronation of Alikali Namina Modu II, was not only a mere division, but as a first step to the total supersession of the Bai Forkis overlordship by their one time sub-chiefs - the Alkali. This became a reality when, after the death of Bai Forki Karringbo II (successor of Kandeh Balli) in 1948, the two chiefdoms were amalgamated in 1949,<sup>2</sup> with its original name of Maforki Chiefdom (before 1902), under Alikali Modu III. Throughout these early decades of the twentieth century, the political atmosphere of Port Loko was that of quiet and tranquility.

With regard to the economic situation, since its decline during the 1850s, it did not revive even before the second decade of the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, trade in the whole Rokel area

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1. P.P. 1899 Vol.LX. Chalmers Report; pp.206-214. Nos.3612-1768.

2. The Provinces Handbook - Sierra Leone (1969/70), p.19.

had shifted to the south following the trade in palm produce from the 1850s onwards, and also the commercial activities on the railway after 1900. By the second decade of the twentieth century however, there was some small revival of trade activities in the Maforiki Chiefdom and on the other Rokel River regions, brought by the Syrians (fully discussed in Chapter I). This brought Port Loko once more into prominence for the Syrian trade between Freetown and the Rokel River trading posts was quite brisk, regular and continuous.